

The Yugitō¹

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I. Introduction

Behind the Ryūkōin 龍光院,² a temple in the monastic centre of the Japanese Shingon school (Shingon-shū 真言宗) on Mt. Kōya (Kōyasan 高野山),³ stands a small single-storied *stūpa* (19,80 meters high) known as the Yugitō 瑜祇塔 (“Yugi Stūpa”,⁴ see figs.1 and 2). The most striking characteristic of this structure is the presence of five metal spires or *sōrin* 相輪⁵ on the roof. Japanese *stūpas* usually have one such ringed column at the centre of the upper roof. The Yugitō, however, has one at the centre and one at each corner of the roof.

In the Shingon school of Japanese esoteric Buddhism, this *stūpa* is said to symbolise the essence of the *Kongōburōkakuissaiyugayugikyō* 金剛峯楼閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經, “The Scripture of All the Yogas and *Yogis of the Vajra-peak Pavilion” (*T.* XVIII no. 867), better known under its abbreviated title *Yugikyō* 瑜祇經.⁶ This text is one of the five canonical texts in the Shingon school.⁷

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 - 2 Originally called Chūin 中院. This temple was the residence of the chief priest of Kōyasan since Kūkai lived here. On this temple, see Yamamoto 1987, 130; *MJ*, 707 s. v. Ryūkōin; *MD*, 2243 s. v. Ryūkōin. See also below, II.
 - 3 A detailed map of the central area of Kōyasan can be found in the report on the excavation of the Tōtō 東塔 “Eastern Stūpa”, see Gankōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Kōkōgaku Kenkyūshitsu 1982, 102. This map is also included in my study, see fig. 3. A complete map of Kōyasan is included in *MJ*, 194–195 s.v. Kōyasan. For an English guidebook to Kōyasan, see Head Temple Kongōbuji 1992.
 - 4 The term *yugī* is explained below. Since the Yugitō is a single-storied Buddhist structure with a hemispheric body reminiscent of the ancient Indian *stūpa*, the Indian term *stūpa* is used in this study and is preferred over “pagoda”. On the use of these terms, see Snodgrass [1985] 1991, 221, note 1; Gardiner 1996, 255–256, note 15.
 - 5 “Characteristic mark-wheel/ring”. *Sōrin* is treated in detail by Ishida 1969a, 82–84, 89, 95, 98, and Ishida 1976, 18–29. An illustration with the Japanese and English terms for the components of the common type of *sōrin* can be found in Itasaka 1983, VI, 147. I have not yet found any satisfactory Indian term for the word *sōrin*. Worth considering are *chattrā* (“parasol”) and *yaṣṭī* (“staff”). See Mayer 1991, 146, note 624: “*xianglun* bezeichnet modern den gesamten Masten (*yaṣṭī*).” Jen (1983, 671 s.v. *ch’a* 刹) mentions *lakṣatā* as the Sanskrit equivalent for *sōrin*. Unfortunately, he does not give any attestation for this choice. See also Luo (1994, 25): “Die Bekrönung als der oberste Teil der Pagode ist sehr wichtig, weil sie den Gesamteindruck der Pagode prägt. Deshalb nutzte man das Zeichen cha (buddhistisches Kloster), dessen Sinn in Sanskrit ‘Laksata’ ursprünglich Erde, Hoheitsgebiet und schließlich Buddha-Land war.” According to *BD*, 826 s.v. *setṣu*, 刹 is the phonetical reading of *keṣetra* (“field”) and *yaṣṭī*.
 - 6 The asterisked (*) word is conjectural, see below, note 11. The author has been working on an annotated translation of the *Yugikyō*, which he hopes to publish in the near future. For this text, see Matsunaga 1985; Yasuhara 1932a–b; Vanden Broucke 1994; *DKKJ*, 393–395.



Fig. 1: Yugitō, Kōyasan. (after Ishida 1969a, fig. 248)



Fig. 2: Yugitō, Kōyasan. (photo by the author)

According to the Shingon tradition, this scripture contains the deep meaning of the “Non-duality of the Two Sections” (*ryōbu funi* 兩部不二).⁸ The Two Sections (*ryōbu*) refer to the Taizō 胎藏 and the Kongōkai 金剛界. Taizō (Skt. Garbha, “Womb”) represents the enlightened universe from the viewpoint of compassion and is symbolised by the lotus. Kongōkai (Skt. Vajradhātu, “Vajra Realm”) represents the realm of knowledge in which illusion and passion are crushed. It is symbolised by the *vajra* (“thunderbolt”, “diamond”), which is indestructible like diamond and which destroys all delusion. The Taizō represents the Shingon notion of Principle 理 (*ri*), the Kongōkai represents the notion of Wisdom 智 (*chi*). In Shingon the two are considered as two complementary aspects of the ultimate reality and are seen as an indissoluble unity. The Taizō and Kongōkai are represented graphically respectively in the Taizōmandara and the Kongōkaimandara, the two main *maṇḍalas* in Shingon Buddhism. These *maṇḍalas* depict the teachings of the two fundamental Indian texts of Shingon: respectively the

Four representative Japanese Buddhist encyclopedic dictionaries start their explanation of the entry Yugitō as follows: *MJ*, 690 s.v. Yugitō: “Based on the *Yugikyō* like the Konpon Daitō . . .” *MD*, 2209 s.v. Yugitō: “A *stūpa* which expresses the deep meaning of the *Yugikyō*. . .” *BDJT*, 1759 s.v. Yugitō: “. . . based on the doctrine of the *Yugikyō*. . .” *BDJ*, V, 4925 s.v. Yugitō: “A *stūpa* which expresses the deep meaning of the *Yugikyō*.” These dictionaries, however, do not further explain why this scripture is the textual base of this *stūpa*. Among these works, *MJ* and *MD* are the two representative dictionaries of Japanese esoteric Buddhism. See also Ihara 1984b, 225–226. The relationship of the *Yugikyō* and the Yugitō is discussed below, V.

7 The so-called *gobu no hikyō* 五部の秘経, “The Five Secret Scriptures”. The text is also a key scripture in the Tendai 天台 school and is included in the Tendai version of the *gobu no hikyō*. It is also a canonical text in the heterodox Tachikawa school (Tachikawa-ryū 立川流), where it is included in the *sangyō ichiron* 三經一論, “The Three Sūtras and the Treatise”. See *MJ*, 225–226 s.v. *gobu no hikyō*; Vanden Broucke 1994, 211–212.

8 This interpretation of the *Yugikyō* is treated in Ihara 1984a. See IX below.

Vairocanaḥbisambodhī (Japanese abbreviated title *Dainichikyō* 大日經, *T.* XVIII no. 848) and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (usually called *Kongōchōkyō* 金剛頂經 in Japanese, three Chinese versions: *T.* XVIII nos. 865, 866 and 882). These two *maṇḍalas* are pictorial representations of the two complementary aspects of the ultimate reality.⁹ This reality is embodied in Vairocana (Dainichi 大日), also known as Mahāvairocana in the Sino-Japanese tradition.

Through the centuries, the Yugitō has been the subject of highly speculative syncretic Shingon interpretations. Later on in this study, these symbolic interpretations of the construction of the Yugitō formulated by Shingon monks will be presented. Attention will also be paid to the history and the architecture of this *stūpa*, and to comparable *stūpas* in Japan, China and India.

The name Yugitō is derived from the title of the *Yugikyō*. *Yugi* 瑜祇 frequently occurs as a Sino-Japanese phonetic rendering of the Sanskrit *yogin*¹⁰ (“the practitioner of *yoga*”). But according to the Shingon commentaries on this scripture, 瑜祇 would represent here the feminine equivalent of 瑜伽 (Jap. *yuga*, Skt. *yoga*).¹¹ As the *Yugikyō* is only extant in Chinese it is impossible to know for certain which Indian equivalent is meant here.¹² Taking the Japanese commentarial tradition into account, I transcribe 瑜祇 here tentatively into **yogī*. The *stūpa* is occasionally referred to with a longer series of characters contained in the full title of the text, i.e. Kongōburōkakuyugitō 金剛峯樓閣瑜祇塔.¹³ Yugitō is exceptionally rendered phonetically with the characters 踊龜塔 (“Emerging Turtle Stūpa”),¹⁴ 遊龜塔 (“Floating Turtle Stūpa”),¹⁵ and 涌龜塔 (“Emerging Turtle Stūpa”).¹⁶ In these transcriptions, the characters are not only chosen for their phonetic value but also for their meaning. Later we shall see that the *stūpa* is sometimes depicted on the back of a giant turtle which is floating on the waves. The Yugitō is also called Shōtō 小塔, “Small Stūpa”,¹⁷ in contrast to the two-storied and 48,5 meters tall

9 For the “non-duality of the two sections” and the two *maṇḍalas*, see Snodgrass 1988, I, 124–130; Yamasaki 1988, 128–140, 147–149; Kiyota 1978, 83–104; Hakeda 1972, 85–86. Although Shingon integrates the doctrines of these two scriptures, it should be remembered that these two basic canonical sources of Japanese Shingon came into existence in India at different times and in different regions. We do not know for certain whether the teachings of the *Vairocanaḥbisambodhī* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* were already combined in India. It remains also unclear whether this notion of the non-duality of the two sections originated in China or whether it is to be attributed to Kūkai. See Kiyota 1978, 24–25; Yamasaki 1988, 148–149. This problem is also discussed below, IX. For the origin of these two scriptures, see Kiyota 1978, 19–24. For a treatment of the origin of the *Vairocanaḥbisambodhī*, see Matsunaga 1981, 174–175; Tsukamoto, Matsunaga and Isoda 1989, 179–186; Wayman and Tajima 1992, 8–16. For the origin of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, see Matsunaga 1981, 194–196; Tsukamoto, Matsunaga and Isoda 1989, 187–192; Todaro 1985, 28–36

10 Nominative, masculine, singular = *yogī*. See *BD*, 1381 s.v. *yugi*; *MD*, 2203 s.v. *yugi*; *BDJT*, 1759 s.v. *yugi*. *Yogin* can also appear in compounds as *yogi*, see *SED*, 857 s.v. *yogi*.

11 The Japanese commentaries see a male-female dualism in the compound *yugayugi* of the full title of this scripture. According to these commentaries *yuga* and *yugi* both mean the Sanskrit *yoga*, *yuga* being the masculine (= *yoga*) and *yugi* the feminine (= *yogī*) counterpart. However, the word *yogī* is not found in the Sanskrit lexica as a feminine noun meaning *yoga*. See Dōhan, *YKK* (in *SZ*, V, 27); Shōshin, *YHK* (in *SZ*, V, 139); Yūgi, *YHD* (in *ZSZ*, VII, 137–138); Raiyu, *YKSK* (in *ND*, XXXIII, 1). The title of the *Yugikyō* is treated in more detail in Vanden Broucke 1994, 208–211.

12 It is not yet sure whether the text is a translation of an Indian original or whether it is a Chinese compilation or composition, i.e. an apocryphal *sūtra* (*gikyō* 偽經). On this problem, see Vanden Broucke 1994, 200–208; Goepfer 1993, 9–10, 87; *DKKJ*, 393–394.

13 See *MJ*, 690 s.v. Yugitō; *MD*, 2209 s.v. Yugitō; *BDJ*, V, 4925 s.v. Yugitō; *KZF* (in *ZSZ*, XXXVII, 634).

14 See Hashimoto 1935, 112.

15 See Hashimoto 1935, 112.

16 See *MJ*, 690 s.v. Yugitō; *MD*, 2209 s.v. Yugitō; *BDJ*, V, 4925 s.v. Yugitō; Manabe 1988: 555.

17 See *MJ*, 690 s.v. Yugitō; *MD*, 2209 s.v. Yugitō.

Konpon Daitō 根本大塔, “Fundamental Great Stūpa”, or Daitō 大塔, “Great Stūpa”, the central *stūpa* in the temple complex on Mt. Kōya.¹⁸

II. History and Location of the Yugitō

On the twenty-third day of the eighth month of the first year of Jōwa 承和 (=834), Kūkai 空海 (774–835, posthumously called Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師), the founder of the Shingon school and the religious community at Kōyasan, addressed a petition to Emperor Ninmyō 仁明 (810–850) urging him to make donations for building two *stūpas* on Mt. Kōya.¹⁹ The contents of this document is included in the *Shōryōshū* 性靈集 compiled by Shinzei 真濟 (800–860), a disciple of Kūkai.²⁰ The *stūpas* are mentioned as follows:

Therefore, in recent years²¹ I have been respectfully constructing two *stūpas* in the Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺²² [that represent] Vairocana, the Essential Nature of the Dharma Realm;²³ and the *maṇḍalas* of the two realms Garbha and Vajradhātu, in order to fulfil the four obligations²⁴ and to complete the dual benefits.²⁵

18 On the Daitō, see Ihara 1984b, 226–227, 234–235; Kōno and Trautz, 1934.

19 See *KSHS*, 15.

20 The *Shōryōshū* (or *Seireishū*) is a collection of poems, memorials, letters, etc. allegedly composed by Kūkai and compiled by Shinzei. The full title is *Henjō bakke seireishū* 遍照発揮性靈集. For the original classical Chinese text of the quoted passage, see *KDZ*, III, 517; *NKBT*, LXXI, 383. An annotated translation into Japanese can be found in *KDCZ*, III, 366–368; *KDKZ*, VI, 540–542; *NKBT*, LXXI, 382–383. This passage is quoted in Mashiba 1969, 148. See also Gardiner 1996, 255–256, 261. The *Shōryōshū* is one of the few texts in which Kūkai explicitly refers to *stūpa*. On Kūkai and *stūpa*, see Yoritomi 1997.

21 比年. The 24th day of the ninth month of Tenchō 天長 9 (=832), according to *NKBT*, LXXI, 383, note 20; *KDCZ*, III, 367, note 8; *KDKZ*, VI, 587, note 14. These Japanese translations do not further explain this date. This date is not included in the *Shingon-shū nenpyō*, the chronological tables of the Shingon school, see *JN*, 24. In the *Kōya shunjū bennen shūroku*, the annals of Kōyasan compiled by Kaiei, we read that the ceremony of Ten Thousand Lamps (Mantō-e 万燈会) was performed that day at Kōyasan. However, this source makes no mention of any *stūpa*. See *KSHS*, 14. The earliest reference to the construction of the Daitō, the main *stūpa* of Kōyasan, is found in *KSHS*, 10. This work reports that the timbers for the central pillar of the Daitō were cut on the Toragamine 虎峯 hill of Kōyasan on the first day of the sixth month of Kōnin 弘仁 10 (=819). The Daitō was not completed while Kūkai was alive. His disciple Shinzen 真然 (804–891, see below note 29) completed the *stūpa* either in 875 or 887. See Yamamoto 1973, 83; and the chronological table of the history of the Daitō in Kōyasan Reihōkan 1997, 133.

22 “Vajra (or “Diamond”, “Adamantine”) Peak (or “Top”) Temple”. Kūkai named the temple complex on Mt. Kōya after the first three characters of the full title of the *Yugikyō*. Nowadays, Kongōbuji refers to the single temple which is the headquarters of the Kōya branch of the Shingon school. See *MJ*, 244 s.v. Kongōbuji; *MD*, 720 s.v. Kongōbuji; Seckel 1985, 83, 185, 258.

23 Birushana Hokkai Taishōtō 毗盧舍那法界体性塔. The *stūpa* is the conventional form (三昧耶形 *sanmayagyō*. *Sanmayā* = Skt. *samyā*) of Vairocana. It embodies Vairocana’s Dharma Body (法身 *hosshin*, Skt. *dharmakāyā*). See Snodgrass 1988, I, 112, II, 735–736. The symbol of Vairocana of the Kongōkai is a single-storied *stūpa*, see fig. 344 in Snodgrass 1988, II, 652. Vairocana of the Taizō is symbolised by the *gorintō* 五輪塔, the “Stūpa of the Five Elements”. See Snodgrass 1988, II, 736, fig. 379; Snodgrass [1985] 1991, 372–377.

24 四恩 *shion*. The four obligations. The obligations to one’s parents, all sentient beings, the ruler, and to the Three Treasures (Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha). See *BD*, 509 s.v. *shion*.

25 二利 *niri*. Benefiting oneself 自利 (*jiri*) and benefiting others 利他 (*rita*). See *BD*, 1050 s.v. *niri*.

In this passage it is not specified which *stūpas* are exactly meant here. The two *stūpas* are generally considered to be the Konpon Daitō and the Saitō 西塔 (“Western Stūpa”), a small two-storied *stūpa* to the west of the Daitō.²⁶

On the other hand, Mashiba Hiromune and Atobe Naoji claim that the Daitō and the Yugitō are meant here.²⁷ Unfortunately they do not refer to any source or argument to support this opinion.

In the *Yasan meireishū* 野山名靈集, an outline of Kōyasan from its founding compiled by Taien 泰円 (no dates) in 1752, we read that Kūkai assembled all his disciples on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of Jōwa 1 (=834) in the Chūin 中院 (=Ryūkōin) where he gave his last injunctions:²⁸

The Yugitō – located in the Ryūkōin, Honchūindani 本中院谷– in full Kongōbuhōrōkakuyugitō 金剛峯宝楼閣瑜祇塔, was built under Kūkai’s will by Go-Sōjō Shinzen 後僧正真然²⁹ in the Era of Jōgan 貞観 (859–876) and is the most secret jewelled *stūpa* 宝塔 (*hōtō*).³⁰ In the beginning, Kūkai summoned his disciples in the Chūin on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of Jōwa 1 (=834) and expressed his various last wishes. These were all superior plans to make the Dharma abide for a long time. The principles of the Dharma abode are wholly contained in this *stūpa* and in the Great Stūpa. The deep meaning of the appellation Kongōbūji lies herein.³¹

The earliest biographies on Kūkai give account of such gatherings, but none of them refer to the Yugitō.³² Taien further writes that Shinzen built the Yugitō in pursuance of Kūkai’s will:

He (=Kūkai) personally conferred the construction of the Five Peaks and the Eight Pillars (Gobu Hatchū 五峯八柱)³³ and the four, nine and thirty-six figures³⁴ to Shinzen Sōjō by means of a drawing

26 See *KSHS*, 15; *KZF* (in *ZS*, XXXVI, 14, 193); *SZ*, XLII, 285; Sawa 1974, 19; Sawa 1997, 78–79, 90. The Saitō was completed in Ninna 仁和 3 (=887) by Shinzen. At the beginning it contained the Five Buddhas of the Kongōkai. In the present Saitō (27 meters high), a reconstruction dating from 1835, Dainichi of the Kongōkai is surrounded by the other four Buddhas of the Taizōkai. According to a tenth century source (see Shimomatsu 1991, 85), the Five Buddhas of the Taizōkai were enshrined in the Daitō. In the present structure, the four Buddhas of the Kongōkai are installed around Dainichi of the Taizōkai. For the deities in the Saitō, see Yamamoto 1976, 182; Shiba 1981, 122. The deities in the Daitō are discussed in Shimomatsu 1991. For a detailed description of the deities in the present Daitō, see Kōyasan Reihōkan 1997.

27 See Mashiba 1969, 148; Atobe 1970b, 17..

28 Quoted in Manabe 1988, 556–557. See *YM*, 37–39. On this work and the author, see *YM*, 285–327; *MD*, 2180 s.v. *Yasan meireishū*.

29 Shinzen (804–891). Kūkai’s successor. Head priest of the Tōji 東寺 in 884. On Shinzen, see *MJ*, 415 s.v. Shinzen; Kōyasan Reihōkan 1990.

30 宝塔. Short for Tahōtō 多宝塔, “Many-treasured Stūpa”, Skt. Prabhūtaratnastūpa. This Sanskrit equivalent refers to the Buddha Prabhūtaratna who, according to the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*), appears seated in a mystical *stūpa* and asks the Buddha Śākyamuni to sit down next to him. See Hurvitz 1976, 183–194. The term *hōtō* was used in China and Japan as an elegant word for *stūpa*. In Japan this word has also been used since the Edo Period (1603–1867) as a technical term for a category of single-storied *stūpas*. See Ishida 1969a, 88; Seckel 1980, 252–255; Seckel 1957, 77–78. See also below, III..

31 See note 22.

32 Biographical texts on Kūkai can be found in *KDKZ*, VIII. For the problem of the trustworthiness of the biographies of Kūkai, see Kitagawa 1987, 184–185.

33 The Five Peaks refer to the five *sōrin* on top of the Yugitō, the Eight Pillars to the eight pillars inside the *stūpa*. See IV and V below.

he had imported from T'ang. Moreover, he was given Kūkai's last will. He moved to the Chūin after Kūkai's decease and governed the mountain. In accordance with the Master's will he built this *stūpa*. He started in the second year of Jōgan (=860) and inaugurated [the *stūpa*] on the ninth day of the eighth month of the twelfth year of the same era (=870).

It is not clear to which Chinese drawing Taien is referring. As far as we know no Chinese text or plan which explains the design or the contents of a *stūpa* similar to the Yūgitō has come down to us. The *Kōya shunjū bennen shūroku* 高野春秋編年輯録 of Kaiei 懷英 (1642–1727) refers in its entry of Gen'ei 元永2 (=1119) to an oral transmission of the Chūin, according to which the *stūpa* would be based on a drawing by Kūkai.³⁵ Also the Shingon monk Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252) mentions a similar drawing in his *Yūgisutraṃ kuketsu* 口決.³⁶ The *Yūgiyō hidenshō* 瑜祇經秘伝鈔 of Yūgi 祐宜 (1536–1612) describes a drawing of a *stūpa* with five peaks and eight pillars on Mt. Sumeru.³⁷ He attributes this drawing to Kūkai after the oral transmission of Hui-kuo 惠果 (746–805, Keika in Japanese), the master of Kūkai. However, no extant original plan or drawing of the Yūgitō by Kūkai is known. The *stūpa* is not mentioned in Kūkai's works neither.

The *stūpa* has been rebuilt and restored repeatedly. According to the *Shōtō shūji* 小塔習事, a document stored in the Ryūkōin and quoted in Amanuma Shun'ichi's article on the Yūgitō,³⁸ the *stūpa* was repaired by the scholar-priest Echi 慧智 (1146–1220) of the Renkon'in 蓮金院³⁹ in Kōyasan after it was seriously damaged. Neither the cause nor the date of this accident is mentioned.⁴⁰ The text informs us that he restored the *stūpa* with donations collected at a commemorative service held for the Kamakura Daibutsu 鎌倉大仏. This bronze figure of Amitābha was, however, built during the Kenchō 建長 Era (1249–1256).⁴¹ The text may be re-

34 It is most likely that the four, nine and thirty-six figures correspond with the following deities:
four = four of the five central Buddhas of the Kongōkaimandara.
nine = the nine central deities in the Taizōmandara.
thirty-six = the Thirty-seven Deities of the Kongōkai (三十七尊 Sanjūshichison) except Dainichi.
Compare with the descriptions of the deities inside the Yūgitō. See IV below.

35 Quoted below, V.

36 Quoted below, V.

37 Quoted below, VII.

38 See Amanuma 1934, 198. Amanuma does not specify the author and the date of this text but quotes information added by the copyist: "The above [text] is written in a secret book called *Nanzan karuori ku* 南山唐折口. I am excerpting from a manuscript of Tenmei 天明2 (1782)." I have not been able to find this document in the Ryūkōin. A manuscript entitled *Nanzan karuori kujū* 南山唐折口授 is kept in the library of Kōyasan University (class number 1-64/ 壬正/14). This manuscript contains a short text entitled *Shōtō shūji*. This manuscript has been entrusted to the library by the Jōyūji 正祐寺 (Ōsaka ?). In addition to the information quoted by Amanuma, the text gives also an esoteric interpretation of the *mudrā* called Gegokōin 外五股印 (for this *mudrā*, see V below). It has a colophon with the name Shinkai 真海 (dates unknown) of the Kongōbuji Hōdarakuin 金剛峰寺補陀洛院. Shinkai's name appears in the colophon of an edition of the shorter version (略本 *ryakubon*) of the *Hizōkei* 秘藏記*, dated 明和丁亥 (1767). See *SZ*, IX, 31. [* For this text, see V below.]

39 On Echi, see *MD*, 152 s.v. Echi. The Renkon'in was founded by Riken 理賢 (1117–1190), the master of Echi. See *MJ*, 701 s.v. Riken; *MD*, 2255 s.v. Riken.

40 No information on this accident in *SN* or *KZF*.

41 The construction of the Daibutsuden 大仏殿 ("Great Buddha Hall") was started in 1238. The inauguration ceremony for the great wooden Buddha statue was held in 1243. The bronze figure was cast in 1252. See *KSD*, V, 467 s.v. Kōtokuin.

ferring to the ceremony held for the completion of the Great Buddha in the Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara in 1195. Shōgun Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199) attended this ceremony with his wife Masako 政子 and made there a vow to build a big bronze image in Kamakura.⁴² In the said document it is furthermore written that Echi reconstructed the *stūpa* with two roofs like the Daitō and that this was to Dōhan's great dissatisfaction because it was against Kūkai's original will.⁴³

In Eishō 永正 18 (=1521), the central monastic complex on Mt. Kōya was completely destroyed by fire.⁴⁴ The Yūgitō was restored in Kan'ei 寛永 3 (=1626) and inaugurated in 1629.⁴⁵ It was again destroyed by fire in Bunka 文化 6 (=1809) and rebuilt in Tenpō 天保 4 (=1833).⁴⁶ On the occasion of its inauguration in 1838, a tablet with the name of the *stūpa* (Kongōrōkakuyūgitō 金剛樓閣瑜祇塔) written horizontally by the monk Sainin 濟仁 (1797–1847) was attached to the southside of the Yūgitō.⁴⁷ Another fire destroyed the *stūpa* in Genji 元治 1 (=1864).⁴⁸ It was reconstructed in 1931.⁴⁹ In celebration of the completion of the Yūgitō, the Yūgikanjō 瑜祇灌頂 (“Yūgi Initiation”) was performed inside the *stūpa* on November 11–12th 1933.⁵⁰ The present building is 19,80 meters high and consists of one storey.⁵¹ It is located on the hillside at the back of the Ryūkōin (see fig. 3). At first this temple was called Chūin 中院 (“Central Monastery”), and was the residence of the chief priest of Kōyasan since Kūkai and his successor Shinzen. It was also in this temple that Meizan 明算⁵² (1021–1106) founded the Chūin branch, Chūin-ryū 中院流, the school of ritual prevalent in Kōyasan.⁵³

42 See *BDJ*, I, 462 s.v. Kamakura Daibutsu.

43 This is also mentioned in *KZF* (in *ZSZ*, XXXVII, 634). It is not sure whether the Daitō was originally a single- or a two-storied *stūpa*. See Atobe 1970b, 17; Kōno and Trautz 1934, 25. See also III below.

According to Mashiba (1969, 148) the two-storied Daitō and the single-storied Yūgitō symbolise respectively the duality 而二 (*nimi*) and the non-duality 不二 (*fumi*) of the two realms. Mashiba does not give any reason why the number of the roofs ought to be interpreted in this way.

44 See *KZF* (in *ZSZ*, XXXVII, 636); *SN*, 499; *KSHS*, 257.

45 See *KZF* (in *ZSZ*, XXXVII, 636); *SN*, 557, 559; *YM*, 38; *KSHS*, 311.

46 See *KZF* (in *ZSZ*, XXXVII, 636).

47 See *KZF* (in *ZSZ*, XXXVII, 636). For Sainin, see *MJ*, 256 s.v. Sainin; *MD*, 760 s.v. Sainin.

48 See *BDJ*, V, 4925 s.v. Yūgitō.

49 See *MJ*, 690 s.v. Yūgitō; *MD*, 2210 s.v. Yūgitō.

50 A mental initiation (内作業灌頂 *naisagō kanjō*) based on Chapter XI of the *Yūgikyō* and regarded as especially secret. The Yūgikanjō is performed in Shingon and Tendai. The way of executing this ritual differs from school to school. Fifteen deities are visualised (観布 *kanpu*) on the body of the *ācārya* or on an image of Kūkai. This is then to be visualised as a *maṇḍala* with thirty-seven deities. The practitioner, whose eyes are covered with red silk, should throw a flower on this *maṇḍala*. See *MD*, 2207 s.v. Yūgikanjō; *MJ*, 689–690 s.v. Yūgikanjō; Mashiba 1969: 149; Ōyama 1956, 567; *Kōyasan Jihō*, 1, 3; *ZSN*, I, 34. The Yūgikanjō is described in Inaya 1981. On the Yūgikanjō in the Shingon school Chūin-ryū 中院流, see Kōda 1988. On the fifteen deities, see Manabe 1984a,b..

51 See Watanabe 1982, 228.

52 For Meizan, see *MJ*, 669–670.

53 On the Chūin branch, see Ōyama 1956.

In the course of its long history, the *stūpa* was apparently constructed at slightly different places, always to the north of the central Daitō and in the vicinity of the Ryūkōin. The *Kūi zōoku fudoki* 紀伊続風土記⁵⁴ compiled in 1839 locates the Yugitō at the foot of the Shishigatake 獅子嶽 (“Mt. Lion”), a hill right to the west of the temple, about thirty steps north to the Danjō 壇上.⁵⁵ Further in the text we read that the *stūpa* was initially built on top of the hill and that it was rebuilt on the aforementioned place after the fire of 1521.⁵⁶ According to this work, the reason for this move might have been the inconvenience of the place for religious practices.⁵⁷ The text adds that the hill was till then called Shōtōbu 小塔峯, “Small Stūpa Peak”.

III. The External Structural Features of the Yugitō

Apart from the Yugitōzu 瑜祇塔図, which are esoteric drawings of the Yugitō as an object of meditation explaining its hidden symbolic meaning,⁵⁸ I do not know any old accurate figures or plans of the material edifice. The oldest drawings of the Garan 伽藍, the central monastic complex at Kōyasan, are found in the *Goshuin'engi* 御手印縁起, historical documents composed in the first half of the twelfth century.⁵⁹ In these drawings the Yugitō is depicted near the Chūin as a small single-storied *stūpa* with one *sōrin*.⁶⁰ The Yugitō is also depicted on the numerous plans of Kōyasan drawn in the Tokugawa or Edo Period (1603–1867).⁶¹ But in these plans, Kōyasan is shown in its entirety and our *stūpa* is again drawn in such a small size that we cannot investigate its structure in detail. However, in these plans we can see that the *stūpa* is often drawn in two stories with five *sōrin* on the upper roof.⁶² There is also a drawing in which even the lower roof carries one *sōrin* on each corner.⁶³ For lack of older detailed drawings or plans of the Yugitō, it is impossible to know in which degree the present *stūpa* is a faithful reproduction of the one built by Shinzen in 870. The fact that the *stūpa* was built in two stories by Echi indicates that there were already different traditions concerning the overall structure in the twelfth and thirteenth century. Later we will see that also the interior and the contents of the *stūpa* and its esoteric interpretations change considerably from source to source.

The present structure rests on two square stone platforms (*کید安* 基壇) which consist of slab-stones (*hame-ishi* 羽目石).⁶⁴ The upper platform is smaller in size and less tall than the

54 See KZF (in ZSZ, XXXVII, 634). On this gazetteer, see MJ, 113 s.v. *Kūi zōoku fudoki*.

55 The Danjō is the centre of the monastic complex at Kōyasan, which includes the Daitō, the Kondō 金堂, the Western and Eastern Stūpas, etc. According to Ihara (1984b, 232), the Yugitō was located at the entrance of the Myōōin 明王院, the temple next to the Ryūkōin, in the west.

56 See KZF (in ZSZ, XXXVII, 635).

57 E.g. the Yugikanjō.

58 See VII below.

59 On the *Goshuin'engi*, see Takeuchi 1995; Wada and Tadera 1992.

60 See Kōno and Trautz 1934, figs. 18, 20, 21, 23 of the Japanese text.

61 See the reproductions in Hinonishi 1983.

62 See Hinonishi 1983, plates 46, 47, 57, 93, 105.

63 See Hinonishi 1983, plate 107.

64 The construction of the Yugitō is described briefly in Ishida 1969a, 190. The construction of the Japanese *stūpa* types is treated in detail in the same work, pp. 78–158. A drawing with the Japanese terms for the main components of the common Japanese *stūpa* can be found in Nakano 1983, 192; *KDJ*, V, 494.

lower one. Next there is a lotus platform (*rendai* 蓮台, *rengeza* 蓮華座), which is a circle of lotus petals sculptured in stone. The petals are slightly pointing downwards in the *kaeribana* 反花 fashion. The *stūpa* body itself (*tōshin* 塔身) is a short white cylinder with a dome-shaped top. There are eight pillars in the wall of the body and one door in each of the four directions. The pillars as well as the doors are red-painted. On top of the dome is a short white cylinder surrounded by a red balustrade (*kōran* 勾欄, 高欄). On the upper part of this cylinder there is a complex construction of radiating girders, which support the square pyramidal roof (*hōgyōyane* 宝形屋根). The *tokyō* 斗栱 (or 科栱), the assembly connecting the roof with the *stūpa* body, is in the *mitesaki* 三手先 style, i.e. it consists of three brackets (*hijiki* 肘木). The roof is of the *futanoki* 二軒 type (“twofold eaves”).⁶⁵ Under each corner of the roof hangs a bell (*jūtaku* 風鐸). On the copper roofing, five *sōrin* are installed, one in the centre and one near each corner.⁶⁶ These copper structures usually consist of nine rings (*kurin* 九輪), but here we have five. The central *sōrin* is slightly different from those near the corners. At the base there is a so-called dew-basin (*roban* 露盤), a box-like basic part. On the *roban* is the *fukubachi* 伏鉢 (or 覆鉢), a component in the shape of an inverted bowl. Above it there is a shaft (*sakkan* 椽管) with respectively one *ukebana* 受花 (or 請花), a flower-shaped ornament with eight petals pointing upwards, and five rings (*rin* 輪). On each ring eight small bells are attached. Next there is one flower-shaped ornament with eight petals, the so-called “lotus seat” or *rengeza* 蓮華座. It contains a vase-shaped object (*hōbei* 宝瓶, “jewel vase”). Above it there is one *hōgai* 宝蓋 (“jewel cover” or “jewel canopy”; or *tengai* 天蓋, “heavenly cover” or “heavenly canopy”) with eight small bells, and one spherical object called *ryūsha* 龍舍 (or 龍車) supported by a lotus. At the very top there is one small *hōju* 宝珠 (“jewel”), a teardrop-shaped ornament that also rests on a lotus-flower. The other four *sōrin* lack the *hōgai*. Between each *sōrin* near the corner of the roof and the central one, there is a chain (*hōsaku* 宝鎖) with three bells. No *suien* 水煙 (“water-smoke”), a flame-shaped open metal work ornament, is attached on the *sōrin* of the Yūgitō. This is, however, a common element on the *sōrin* of the average Japanese *stūpa*.

Information on the reconstruction of our *stūpa* is found in Amanuma’s article on the Yūgitō published in August 1934.⁶⁷ This specialist on Japanese ancient architecture writes that he attempted to draw a plan for the reconstruction of the Yūgitō. His plan was presented by the Ryūkōin to the Religious Affairs Bureau (Shūkyōkyoku 宗教局) of the Japanese Ministry of Education. But he regrets that the Bureau requested the planning to an engineer, Gotō Keiji 後藤慶二, who was no more alive at the time Amanuma wrote his article.⁶⁸ It may nevertheless be interesting to have a look at the way Amanuma reconstructed the Yūgitō (see figs. 4–5).

65 See Ishida 1969a, 190. For the terminology of the roof in Japanese Buddhist architecture, see Parent 1985. For a drawing of the *mitesaki* and *futanoki* type, see KDJ, V, respectively pp. 504 and 506.

66 The *sōrin* are clearly visible in Ishida 1969a, plate 248. This plate is included in the present study, see fig. 1. The *sōrin* of the Yūgitō are described in Ishida 1969a, 190; Ishida 1969b, 41; Mae 1979, 131.

67 See Amanuma 1934, 215–219.

68 See Amanuma 1934, 216–217.

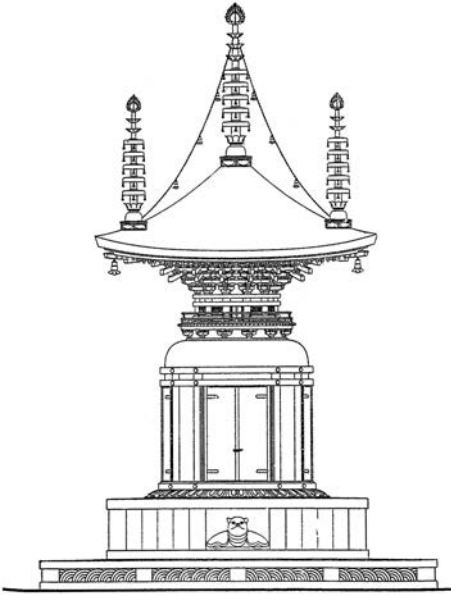


Fig. 4: Reconstruction of the Yugitō by Amanuma Shun'ichi. (after Amanuma 1934, 236, fig. 13)

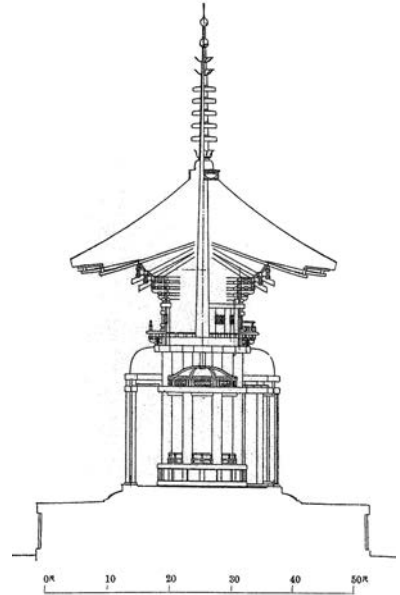


Fig. 5: Idem. (after Amanuma 1934, 237, fig. 14)

In his drawings we see that he applied a wave pattern in the slab-stones of the lower platform in order to represent a pond.⁶⁹ In the centre of the front side of the upper platform, he proposed to install a massive stone on which he designed a turtle to be sculptured in relief like the one in the stone *stūpa* of the Hōkakuji 鳳閣寺⁷⁰ (see below). The upper platform supports a lotus platform in the *kaeribana* style and a circular *stūpa* body with eight interior and eight exterior pillars, similar to the present Yugitō. Without mentioning a particular reason, he opted for the *yotesaki* 四手先 style instead of the *mitesaki* for the bracketing-system.⁷¹ For the ceiling of the eaves he based himself on the five-storied *stūpa* of the Murōji 室生寺.⁷² When we compare the modern Yugitō with Amanuma's plan, the overall design of the *stūpa* is similar, except for some details. First, the wave pattern and the turtle have been left out in the present structure. Secondly, Amanuma designs the five *sōrin* with a *sūen* on the top of the shaft and without the *tengai*, *hōbei* and *ryūsha*. He writes that later, when he was consulted about the construction of the *sōrin*, he would have suggested to imitate the one on the five-storied *stūpa* of the Murōji⁷³. He does not explain why he suggested this particular *stūpa*. Apparently his advice was followed: except for the nine rings, the *sōrin* of the Murōji *stūpa* is identical with the central *sōrin* of the present Yugitō⁷⁴. The Murōji *stūpa* dates back from the Nara Period (710–794) and the present edifice would be

69 See the drawings in Amanuma 1934, 236–238.

70 See Amanuma 1934, 215.

71 See Amanuma 1934, 216.

72 See Amanuma 1934, 216; *KDJ*, V, p. 84. For a detailed study of the Murōji, see Fowler 1994.

73 See Amanuma 1934, 218; Ishida 1969b, 41.

74 See plate 26 in *KDJ*, V, 82. See also Ishida 1969a, 160.

very close to its original design. However, the *sōrin* of the Murōji *stūpa* has been repaired frequently and it is doubtful whether its original form has been preserved.⁷⁵ For the reconstruction of the Yugitō Amanuma clearly combined elements from different extant Japanese structures.

Except for the five *sōrin*, the Yugitō has the characteristics of the category of Japanese *stūpas* called *hōtō* 宝塔 (“jewelled *stūpa*”, see fig. 6). The *hōtō* is characterised by a circular ground plan and consists of a cylindrical body with a domed top, which carries a short cylinder. A pyramidal roof with slightly curved edges and with one *sōrin* in the centre tops the *hōtō*.⁷⁶

In 1963, a thirty-five meters high replica of the Yugitō was built of reinforced concrete in the Yakuōji Temple 薬王寺 in the Tokushima Prefecture 徳島県.⁷⁷ This Shingon temple is no. 23 on the pilgrimage route of the eighty-eight sacred sites on the island of Shikoku, the Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho 四国八十八箇所. Along this route are eighty-eight temples closely related to Kūkai. On November 11th 1999, a *stūpa* with five spires called Yugi Shichifuku Hōtō 瑜祇七福宝塔 was inaugurated in the Hachijōji 八淨寺, a Shingon temple on the Awaji Island 淡路島.⁷⁸

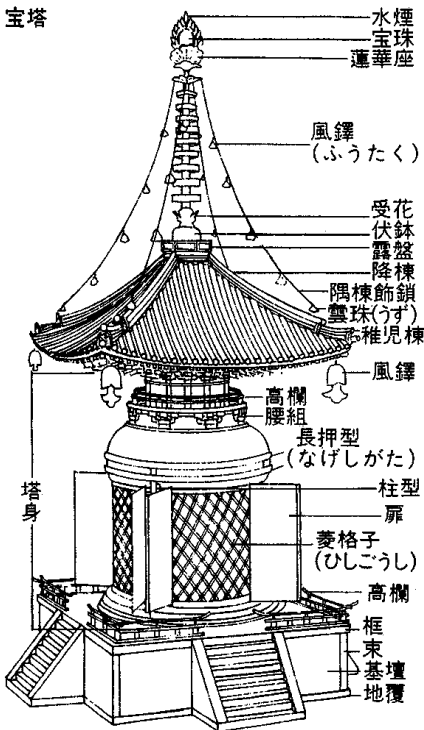


Fig. 6: External features of the *hōtō*. (after Nakano 1983, 192)

75 See *KDJ*, V, 84.

76 The *hōtō* is discussed in detail in Ishida 1969a, 88–93.

77 See *MD*, 2174 s.v. Yakuōji; Ihara 1984b, 237, note 23; Fujishima 1978, 168. For an illustration, see Miyata 1984, 66.

78 See *Chūgai Nippō* 1999a, 15; *Chūgai Nippō* 1999b, 5; *Chūgai Nippō* 1999c, 11; *Chūgai Nippō* 1999d, 8–9.

IV. The Interior of the Yūgitō

There seems to be no early texts known in which the interior of the Yūgitō is described. The *Yasan meireishū* and the *Kii zōku fudoki*, compiled respectively in the first half of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, contain a brief description of the deities contained in the *stūpa*. In the *Yasan meireishū* we read:⁷⁹

The main honoured ones are the Five Buddhas Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 and Ashuku 阿闍, Hōshō 宝生, etc. The paintings on the four pillars were painted after the death of the Sōjō 僧正⁸⁰ by a person called Eri Sōzu 会理僧都,⁸¹ an initiated disciple. He painted them in accordance with the transmission of the Master. But though the times change, the stars move and prosperity and decline are not equal, the reverence for the monk is now deeper and deeper in the world. In medieval times, the *ācārya* Kakukyō 觉教⁸² retouched them faithfully. In recent times, Naoe 直江, the feudal lord of Yamashiro 山城, restored them in veneration.⁸³ It is the *stūpa* that is located in the present place. The inscription “The twenty-sixth day of the fourth month of the third year of Kan’ei 寛永 (=1626)” on the central pillar is the date of the religious service for the inauguration. On the four pillars each of the Nine Deities and on the eight pillars of the four gates the Eight Great Bodhisattvas [are painted]. A manuscript with their shapes, colours and so on by Eri Sōzu is in the Chūin.

The *Kii zōku fudoki* contains a more detailed description. It also mentions figures painted on the inner walls and on the inside of the doors.⁸⁴

In the centre, the Five Buddhas of the Vajra Realm are installed. On the four pillars 柱 each of the Nine Honoured Ones are painted and on the eight columns 楹 the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are drawn. On the eight doors, the Eight Deities are painted, and on the four walls the Eight Patriarchs are drawn. The construction is superb and the paintings are skilful. It is customary that other unusual matters are based on secret transmission.

The detailed description of the deities is clearly secret. As a matter of fact, further in this text we read:

79 See *YM*, 36.

80 Kūkai’s successor Shinzen. Sōjō (“Superior of Monks”) belongs to the first main rank in the system of the *sōgō* 僧綱, the officials of the Buddhist priesthood in charge of superintending monks and nuns. See *MJ*, 441 s.v. *sō*, 444 s.v. Sōjō; *DJBT*, 330–331 s.v. *sōgō*; *MD*, 1380–1381 s.v. *sōgō*.

81 Eri (852–935) was a disciple of Shūei 宗叡 (809–884) and Zennen 禅念 (?–908). See *MJ*, 52 s.v. Eri; *MD*, 155 s.v. Eri. Eri was mainly active in the Tōji 東寺. According to *BDJ*, V, 4925 s.v. Yūgitō, Eri carved the Five Buddhas of the Kongōkai in Kanpyō 寛平 5 (=893). See *KZF* (in *ZSZ*, XXXVII, 635). In the *Yukisutraṃ kuden* 口伝*, one of Dōhan’s 道範 (1178–1252) commentaries on the *Yūgiyō*, we read that the pillars bore paintings of the Thirty-seven Deities painted by Eri. See *ZSZ*, VII, 101. [**Yukisutraṃ* is written out in *siddham* in the title of this commentary. For technical reasons I cannot reproduce the *siddham* syllables. The text is also often referred to under its Sino-Japanese title *Yūgiyō kuden* 瑜祇經口伝. For the use of *siddham* in the title of the commentaries on the *Yūgiyō*, see Vanden Broucke 1994, 209–210.]

82 1167–1242. Son of Sadajin 左大臣 (“Great Minister of the Left”) Fujiwara Sanefusa 藤原実房 (1147–1225). See *MJ*, 78 s.v. Kakukyō; *MD*, 216 s.v. Kakukyō.

83 Naoe Kanetsugu 直江兼統 (1560–1619). See *KSD*, X, 528–529 s.v. Naoe Kanetsugu. Yamashiro was one of the five provinces nearest to the ancient capital (Gokinai 五畿内). It corresponds with the southern part of the present-day Kyoto-fu 京都府.

84 See *KZF* (in *ZSZ*, XXXVII, 634).

Though the postures and seals (*mudrās*) of the deities each have a deep meaning, they cannot easily be written with paper and ink. The present jewelled *stūpa* (*hōtō* 宝塔) is also without doubt constructed in accordance with the old system.

These two sources refer to four interior pillars. These four central pillars, the *shitenbashira* 四天柱 (“the four heavenly pillars”), are frequently found in the Japanese *stūpa*.⁸⁵ The area within these pillars is the inner sanctuary, *naijin* 内陣, and contains a Mt. Sumeru platform, Shumidan 須弥壇, on which sculptures of the central deities may be installed. But in the present Yūgitō not four but eight pillars are erected in a circle. These eight interior pillars are an important feature of the Yūgitō. As a matter of fact, we shall see that some Japanese commentaries on the *Yūgikeyō* call the *stūpa* the “Pavilion with Five Peaks and Eight Pillars”, Gōbu Hatchū no Rōkaku 五峯八柱の楼閣. In the reconstructed Yūgitō, the central pillar or *shinbashira* 心柱 does not extend from below the ground but rises above the ceiling to the top of the roof.⁸⁶

According to these two sources, the five central Buddhas clearly belong to the Vajra Realm⁸⁷ It is not explicitly indicated to which realm the surrounding deities belong. The series of nine deities might refer to the Kuson 九尊, the nine central deities in the Taizōmandara 胎藏曼荼羅, which represents the Taizō. This series of deities consists of four Buddhas and four Bodhisattvas who emanate from the central Dainichi, Taizō Dainichi 胎藏大日.⁸⁸

These nine deities are said to be painted on “the four pillars” but the exact configuration is not described. Maybe two deities were painted on each of the four pillars, in all eight deities. The central Taizō Dainichi, on the other hand, might have been substituted by another element of the *stūpa*, for example the central axis above the statues of the Five Buddhas of the Vajra Realm.⁸⁹ Or, Dainichi was to be seen in the totality of these eight deities who are his emanations. The eight Bodhisattvas on the eight exterior columns are probably the Hachidaibosatsu 八大菩薩 (“The Eight Great Bodhisattvas”); a series of eight Bodhisattvas considered being the protectors of the Buddhist doctrine.⁹⁰ The identity of these deities differs depending on the scriptural source; a comparative list is included in the

85 On the *shitenbashira*, see Ishida 1969a, 85.

86 The central pillar of the Japanese *stūpas* came to be suspended from above the ceiling from the end of the Heian (794–1185). See Kawakatsu 1984, 90; Kōno and Trautz 1934, 25.

87 The Five Buddhas in the *maṇḍala* of the Vajra Realm are Dainichi 大日 (Skt. Vairocana) in the centre and the Four Buddhas in the Four Directions (四方四仏 Shihō Shibutsu). The four Buddhas are Ashuku 阿闍 (Skt. Akṣobhya) in the east, Hōshō 宝生 (Skt. Ratnasambhava) in the south, Amida 阿弥陀 (Skt. Amitābha) in the west and Fukūjōju 不空成就 (Skt. Amoghasiddhi) in the north. See *MJ*, 320 s.v. Shihō Shibutsu; Kiyota 1978, 98.

88	Four Buddhas:	Hōdō	宝幢	(east, Skt. Ratnaketu)
		Kaifukēō	開敷華王	(south, Skt. Saṃksumitarāja)
		Muryōju	無量寿	(west, Skt. Amitāyus)
		Tenkuraion	天鼓雷音	(north, Skt. Divyadundubhimeghanirghoṣa)
	Four Bodhisattvas:	Fugen	普賢	(southeast, Skt. Samantabhadra)
		Monjushiri	文殊師利	(southwest, Skt. Mañjuśrī)
		Kanjizai	觀自在	(northwest, Skt. Avalokiteśvara)
		Miroku	弥勒	(northeast, Skt. Maitreya)

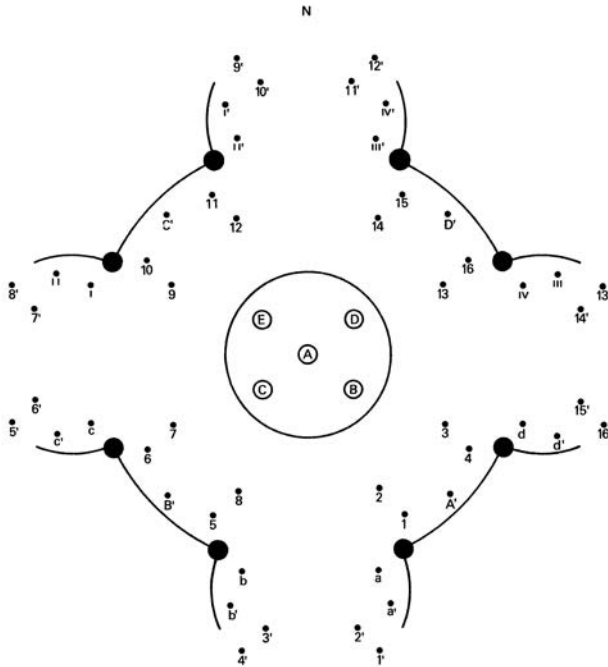
See Snodgrass 1988, I, 207–208; *MD*, 343 s.v. Kuson, 1583–1584 s.v. Chūtai Hachiyōin. See also below, note 115.

89 Cf. Seckel 1957, 79; Seckel 1980, 254.

90 Compare with Astley-Kristensen 1991, 62.

Mikkyō daijiten 密教大辞典, the Japanese encyclopedic dictionary of esoteric Buddhism.⁹¹ The eight deities painted on the doors are undoubtedly the Happōten 八方天, the eight *devas* who protect the eight points of the compass.⁹² The Eight Patriarchs, Hasso 八祖, are the eight masters Shingon considers to have transmitted esoteric Buddhism.⁹³

Although Amanuma discusses the constructional aspects of the Yugitō elaborately, no information is found on the deities to be installed or painted inside the reconstructed *stūpa*. We should hereby bear in mind that he was a specialist in architecture.⁹⁴ He did not write his study from the point of view of an initiated Shingon scholar-monk. However, he included a reproduction of an old plan from the Chūin of the composition of the deities in the Yugitō. The author and the date of this document, titled *Kōyasan Chūin Shōtō-zu* 高野山中院小塔図 (“Plan of the Small Stūpa of the Chūin in Kōyasan”), are not indicated. Here follows an English version of this plan and the accompanying text.⁹⁵



91 See *MD*, 1812 s.v. Hachidaibosatsu.

92 See *MD*, 1816 s.v. Happōten.

93 See Snodgrass 1988, I, 116–117.

94 For a brief biography of Amanuma Shun'ichi (1876–1947), see Fujiwara 1948, 142.

95 See Amanuma 1934, 198–201. I have been unable to find this document in the Ryūkōin. A manuscript with the same title and the same description of the interior of the Yugitō is kept at the library of Kōyasan University (class number 中院/≡真/64). In this manuscript, the plan has the shape of a lotus flower with eight petals. The central five deities are represented in a square, in the centre of the lotus. This manuscript has been entrusted to the library by the Shinbessho 真別所 (= Entsjūji 円通寺) of Kōyasan. Unfortunately the manuscript contains no colophon. At the end of the text we read: 金剛資恭應(?) 焉, “Vajra disciple Kyōō (?)”. No priest called Kyōō is included in the index of *MD*, *SZ*, *KSHS*.

A	大日	Dainichi (of the Taizō)	Vairocana ⁹⁶
B	宝幢仏	Hōdō Butsu	Ratnaketu
C	開敷華王仏	Kaifukeō Butsu	Samkumitarāja
D	普賢	Fugen	Samantabhadra
E	文殊	Monju	Mañjuśrī
A'	阿閼	Ashuku	Akṣobhya
B'	宝生	Hōshō	Ratnasambhava
C'	無量寿	Muryōju	Amitāyus
D'	不空成就	Fukūjōju	Amoghasiddhi
a	金剛波羅蜜	Kongōharamitsu	Vajrapāramitā
b	宝波羅蜜	Hōharamitsu	Ratnapāramitā
c	法波羅蜜	Hōharamitsu	Dharmapāramitā
d	羯磨波羅蜜	Katsumaharamitsu	Karmapāramitā
1	金剛喜	Kongōki	Vajrasādhu
2	金剛愛	Kongōai	Vajrarāga
3	金剛薩埵	Kongōsatta	Vajrasattva
4	金剛王	Kongōō	Vajrarāja
5	金剛光	Kongōkō	Vajrateja
6	金剛笑	Kongōshō	Vajrahāsa
7	金剛幢	Kongōdō	Vajraketu
8	金剛宝	Kongōhō	Vajratatna
9	金剛法	Kongōhō	Vajradharma
10	金剛利	Kongōri	Vajratikṣṇa
11	金剛語	Kongōgo	Vajrabhāṣa
12	金剛因	Kongōin	Vajrahetu
13	栞 = [金剛] 栞[叉] (= 金剛牙)	= Kongōge	= Vajrayakṣa
14	金剛業	Kongōgō	Vajrakarma
15	金剛護	Kongōgo	Vajrarakṣa
16	金剛拳	Kongōken	Vajrasaṃdhi/Vajramuṣṭi
I	金剛嬉	Kongōki	Vajralāṣī
II	金剛鬘	Kongōman	Vajramālā
III	金剛歌	Kongōka	Vajragītā
IV	金剛舞	Kongōbu	Vajranṛtā
I'	金剛香	Kongōkō	Vajradhūpā
II'	金剛華	Kongōke	Vajrapuṣpā
III'	金剛燈	Kongōtō	Vajrālokā
IV'	金剛塗	Kongōzu	Vajragandhā

96 The Indian names of the deities are based on *MJ*.

a' 金剛鉤	Kongōkō	Vajrāṅkuṣa
b' 金剛索	Kongōsaku	Vajrapāṣa
c' 金剛鑊	Kongōsa	Vajrasphoṭa
d' 金剛鈴	Kongōrei	Vajrāveṣa
1' 慈氏	Jishi	Maitreya
2' 不空見	Fukūken	Amoghadarśana
3' 除蓋障(= 滅惡趣) ⁹⁷	Jogaishō (= Mettakushu)	(= Sarvāpāyajaha)
4' 除憂闇	Jouan	Sarvaśokatamonirghātana
5' 香象	Kōzō	Gandhahastin
6' 大精進	Daishōjin	Śauraya
7' 金剛幢	Kongōdō (= Kokūzō)	Vajraketu (= Gaganagañja)
8' 智幢	Chidō	Jñānaketu
9' 無量光	Muryōkō	Amitaprabha
10' 賢護	Kengo	Bhadrapāla
11' 網明	Mōmyō	Jālinīprabha
12' 月光	Gakkō	Candraprabha
13' 文殊(= 無尽意) ⁹⁸	Monju (= Mujin'i)	Mañjuśrī (= Akṣayamati)
14' 智積(= 辯積) ⁹⁹	Chishaku (= Benshaku)	Pratibhānakūṭa
15' 金剛藏	Kongōzō	Vajragarbha
16' 普賢	Fugen	Samantabhadra

The appendant explanatory text runs as follows:

The *stūpa* of the Chūin at Kōyasan. Called Small Stūpa, with five *kūrin* 空輪.¹⁰⁰

Drawing of the inner sanctuary. The Buddhist statues have been made and drawn by Eri Sōzu.

The record of Kezōin no Miya¹⁰¹ says: “Dainichi, Hōdō, Kaifu, Fugen and Monju of the Taizō.”¹⁰²

Matters concerning the Buddhas in wooden statues: the *mudrās* and the attributes they hold are as usual. The three Buddhas¹⁰³ and the two Bodhisattvas¹⁰⁴ are made of sandalwood.

The canopy (*tengai* 天蓋): clouds and cranes are drawn round the eight petals.

Concerning the paintings on the walls and the doors: a lotus pond is drawn under the four Buddhas.¹⁰⁵ Above them music instruments are flying. Under the Bodhisattvas on the doors are *shikishigata* 色紙形.¹⁰⁶ Above them are lotus flowers: some open, some closed.

97 See *MD*, 1109 s.v. Joakushubosatsu, 2152b s.v. Mettakushubosatsu.

98 See *MD*, 2168a s.v. Monjubosatsu.

99 See *MD*, 1981 s.v. Benshakubosatsu.

100 “Space ring/wheel.” A synonym of *sōrin*, see *BD*, 284 s.v. *kūrin*.

101 Kezōin no Miya 華藏院宮 is the monk Shōkei 聖惠 (1094–1137), the fifth son of Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053–1129) and founder of the Kezōin school, one of the six sub-schools of the Hirosawa school (Hirosawaryū 広沢流) of Shingon. The text mentioned here is probably the *Kezōin no Miya gyōki* 華藏院宮御記. The title of this text is recorded in *KS*, III, 80.

102 Compare with the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas mentioned above, note 88.

103 A, B and C.

104 D and E.

105 A', B', C' and D'.

The Four Buddhas,¹⁰⁷ the Four Pāramitābodhisattvas,¹⁰⁸ the Eight Pūjās¹⁰⁹ and the Four Saṃgrahas:¹¹⁰ the Sixteen Honoured Ones of the Bhadrakalpa¹¹¹ all have the jewelled lotus seat.

The Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas¹¹² on red lotuses.

The Bodhisattvas on the doors are all standing figures: the Four Pāramitās, the Eight Pūjās and the Four Saṃgrahas are the Sixteen Honoured Ones.

The Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas of the four corners are all sitting figures: the Four Buddhas and the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas.

The Four Buddhas are gold coloured. The others are flesh-coloured.

Summarising this description of the deities inside the *stūpa*, we have the following series of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas:

- The central deities: three of the Five Buddhas and two of the Four Bodhisattvas of the central assembly of the Taizōmandara.
- The four walls: four of the Five Buddhas of the central assembly of the Kongōkaimandara. Each Buddha is flanked by four of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas of the Kongōkaimandara.
- The doors: the Four Pāramitābodhisattvas, the Eight Pūjābodhisattvas, the Four Saṃgrahabodhisattvas and the Sixteen Honoured Ones of the Bhadrakalpa.

In total there are fifty-seven deities. The central five deities belong to the Taizō. The fifty-two surrounding deities are found in the Kongōkaimandara.¹¹³ Whereas the central deities mentioned in the *Kūi zōken judokū* and the *Yasan meireishū* belong to the Kongōkai, the central sculptures in this plan are derived from the Taizō. There is no reference to the columns.

The *Kōyasan kanpatsu shinjinshū* 高野山勸発信心集, a history and description of Kōyasan by Shinken 信堅 (1259–1322), contains a short reference to the interior of the Yūgitō:¹¹⁴

The Small Stūpa. Built by Gosōjō Shinzen. In front of Chūdai Dainichi:¹¹⁵ on the left Ashuku, on the right Hōshō. Three Buddhas, two Bodhisattvas.

106 Probably a pattern in the shape of *shikishi*, square pieces of paper for writing poems on. See Shinmura 1994, 1106 s.v. *shikishigata*.

107 A', B', C' and D'.

108 a, b, c and d. Shiharamitsubosatsu 四波羅蜜菩薩. On this series of Bodhisattvas, see Snodgrass 1988, II, 598–602.

109 I, II, III, IV and I', II', III', IV'. Hachikuyōbosatsu 八供養菩薩. On this series of Bodhisattvas, see Snodgrass 1988, II, 620–629.

110 a', b', c' and d'. Shishōbosatsu 四撰菩薩. On this series of Bodhisattvas, see Snodgrass 1988, II, 629–633.

111 1'–16'. Gengōjūrokuson 賢劫十六尊. On this series of Bodhisattvas, see *MJ*, 167–169 s.v. Gengōjūrokuson.

112 1–16. Jūrokudaibosatsu 十六大菩薩. See Snodgrass 1988, II, 602–619. These sixteen Bodhisattvas constitute with the Five Buddhas of the Kongōkai, the Shiharamitsubosatsu, the Hachikuyōbosatsu and the Shishōbosatsu, the Thirty-seven Deities (Sanjūshichison 三十七尊) of the central assembly of the Kongōkaimandara. See Snodgrass 1988, II, 602–619.

113 On the deities of the Kongōkaimandara, see Kiyota 1978, 93–104; Snodgrass 1988, II, 555–727.

114 See Abe 1982, 98. On the *Kōyasan kanpatsu shinjinshū*, see Abe 1982, 93.

115 中台大日. Chūdai 中台 (or 中胎) refers to the Chūdai Hachiyō-in 中台(八葉院), the “Hall of the Eight Petal Central Dais”, the central hall in the Taizōmandara. In this section of the *maṇḍala*, the nine main deities of the Taizō are sitting on a lotus with eight petals. Dainichi occupies the centre of the lotus. Four Buddhas and four Bodhisattvas (see note 88 above) sit on the eight petals surrounding Dainichi. See Snodgrass 1988, I, 207–208; Kiyota 1978, 87–89; *MJ*, 500–501 s.v. Chūdai Hachiyō-in.

This arrangement resembles the central part of the above-mentioned plan. Here too, Dainichi of the Taizō occupies the centre. But instead of the Buddhas Hōdō and Kaifuke of the Taizō, Ashuku and Hōshō, two Buddhas of the central assembly of the Kongōkai-mandara, are occupying the area in front of Dainichi. In other words, a syncretic tendency is already noticeable in the choice of the three central Buddhas. The identity of the ‘two Bodhisattvas’ is not explained.

Both in the Kongōkaimandara and the Taizōmandara, Dainichi occupies the central portion surrounded by four Buddhas in the four cardinal directions. These four Buddhas are explained as manifestations of Dainichi. Though the four surrounding Buddhas of the Taizō are different in appearance with those of the Kongōkaimandara, in Shingon they are considered to be essentially identical.¹¹⁶ The relationship of the four Buddhas of both *maṇḍalas* is as follows:

<i>Kongōkai</i>	Ashuku	Hōshō	Amida	Fukūjōju
<i>Taizō</i>	Hōdō	Kaifukeō	Muryōju	Tenkuraion
<i>Orientation</i>	east	south	west	north

Comparing the identity of the two central Buddhas near Dainichi mentioned in the Ryūkōin document and in Shinken’s compilation, we see a correspondence with the Buddhas of the east and the south of the two *maṇḍalas* as shown in the above table.

The *Yugisutraṃ kuketsu* 口決, a commentary on the *Yugikyō* by the Shingon scholar-priest Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252), contains an interesting reference to the contents of the *stūpa*.¹¹⁷ Here again we read that Dainichi of the Taizō is installed together with two Buddhas and two Bodhisattvas. It is further stated that they represent the Five Buddhas and that these deities “gather” (or “embody”, “comprise”, 略撰, comp. Skt. *saṃgraha*) the Nine Deities. This information is contained in a supplementary note to a section dealing with “the non-dual meaning of the Introductory Chapter [of the *Yugikyō*]” (序品不二意). The numerous notes in this text are considered to be of different authorship.¹¹⁸ The above note is followed by an explanation that states that the deities are “the Buddhas of the non-duality of the two sections” (兩部不二之仏也).¹¹⁹ This passage is again of uncertain authorship. We read that Dainichi of the Taizō in the Yugitō is identified with Dainichi of the Taizō and the Kongōkai. The two Buddhas would be Ashuku and Hōshō, the two Bodhisattvas Kannon and Kokūzō. The text locates these deities respectively in the southeast, southwest, northwest and the northeast. Moreover, the two Buddhas and the two Bodhisattvas are identified with the four Buddhas and the four Bodhisattvas surrounding the central Dainichi in the Taizō. I have set out these relationships in the following table:

Ashuku (SE)	=	Fugen (SE in the Taizō)	=	Hōdō
Hōshō (SW)	=	Monju (SW in the Taizō)	=	Kaifukeō
Kannon (NW)	=	Muryōju (W in the Taizō)	=	Kanjizai
Kokūzō (NE)	=	Tenkuraion (N in the Taizō)	=	Miroku

116 See Snodgrass 1988, II, 596–597; *MD*, 1363–1364 s.v. *senden fusenden*. See also the table in *MJ*, 220 s.v. *gochi*.

117 See *SZ*, V, 46. This passage is translated and more fully discussed below, V. *Yugisutraṃ* is written out in *siddham* in the title of this commentary. For technical reasons I cannot reproduce the *siddham* syllables. The text is also often referred to under its Sino-Japanese title *Yugikyō kuketsu* 瑜祇經口決. Cf., above, note 81.

118 See *SZ*, XLIII, 11–12.

119 See *SZ*, V, 46–47.

Again we see a tendency to equate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with their counterparts of the opposite realm.

It is difficult to decide which of the above-mentioned arrangements corresponded with the contents of the original Yugitō built by Shinzen. Sculptures of the three Buddhas and the two Bodhisattvas referred to in Dōhan's commentary are also installed in the present Yugitō. The contents of this reconstructed *stūpa* is described by Matsunaga Yūkei in his introduction to the *Yugikyō*.¹²⁰ This was published in 1985 with a reproduction of a manuscript of the text dated Eikyō 永享 7 (=1435) and stored in the Ryūkōin. This publication was in commemoration of the Yugi Initiation, which was performed for the first time in fifty-two years in October 18th 1985.¹²¹ He says:

The Yugitō is faced to the east. The main honoured ones consist of six honoured ones: Dainichi Nyorai of the Kongōkai as the central honoured one, Ashuku Nyorai in the northeast, Hōshō Nyorai in the southeast, Kanzeon Bosatsu in the northwest, Kokūzō Bosatsu in the southwest and Aizen Myōō in the west. The three honoured ones in the centre, the northeast and the southeast belong to the Kongōkai and are all in the shape of a *bhikṣu*. In the southwest is Kokūzō, explained in the ninth chapter of the *Yugikyō*.¹²² Together with the Bodhisattva Kanzeon of the northwest, they are in the appearance of a Bodhisattva and belong to the Taizō lineage. Furthermore, Aizen Myōō, who appears in the second and fifth chapter of the *Yugikyō*, is added to the back of the central honoured one and is facing to the west.

A new element here is the presence of two deities in the centre of the *stūpa*: Dainichi of the Kongōkai and Aizen Myōō 愛染明王. This latter deity is not included among the deities of the Ryōbumandara 両部曼荼羅 but is treated in detail in the *Yugikyō*.¹²³ Since the Tōmitsu 東密, the esoteric Buddhism introduced by Kūkai, claims that the whole text explains the concentration (*sanmai* 三昧, Skt. *samādhi*) of Aizen Myōō, it is not surprising that Aizen too became part of the central deities of the Yugitō.¹²⁴ On the other hand, I have not yet come on a text with a description of the Yugitō in which Aizen is included. I have neither found any information on the reason of the choice of this peculiar layout for the interior of the present *stūpa*.

Although the descriptions of the interior of the Yugitō differ considerably depending on the source, there is always a combination of deities of both realms. This syncretic selection of deities of both realms reflects the basic Shingon concept of the unity of the two main *maṇḍalas*, the Taizōmandara and the Kongōkaimandara. It is unclear why all these different plans of the configuration of the deities in the Yugitō have been produced. At least we can say that these variations may be the result of different secret traditions that were handed down mainly orally. We probably have to regard these variant descriptions as a result of different traditions of Shingon speculations. One should also keep in mind that my

120 See Matsunaga 1985, 9–10 (no pagination). Since the Yugitō is not open to the public, Matsunaga's description is the only source that enables us to have an idea of the contents of the present Yugitō.

121 See the report in *Kōyasan jibō* 高野山時報, 1, 3. See also note 50 above.

122 See *T. XVIII* no. 867, 263b15–c4.

123 See *T. XVIII* no. 867, 256b25–257b15. For an exhaustive study in English on this deity, see Goepper 1993. For a Japanese study, see Nedachi 1997.

124 See *MD*, 723 s.v. *Kongōburokakuissaiyugayugikyō*.

information has been drawn from a limited number of easily obtainable sources. A more detailed study of private manuscripts would surely add new elements to this survey.

Similar inconsistent and contradictory descriptions are also met with in the different arrangements of the Five Buddhas of the Daitō of Kōyasan. Depending on the records, the central Buddhas are the Five Buddhas of the Taizō or Dainichi of the Taizō surrounded by the four Buddhas of the Kongōkai. According to still another source the Five Buddhas of the Kongōkai were installed in the centre of the *stūpa*.¹²⁵ In the centre of the present Daitō, the four Buddhas of the Vajra Realm surround Dainichi of the Taizō.¹²⁶ This *stūpa* too is traditionally considered to symbolise the Shingon notion of *Ryōbu Funi*.¹²⁷

Shimomatsu Tōru demonstrates in his study of the Five Buddhas of the Great Stūpa of Kōyasan that originally the Five Buddhas of the Taizō were installed.¹²⁸ He also states that the theory of correlating the Five Buddhas of the Daitō (=Dainichi of the Taizō and the four Buddhas of the Kongōkai) with the idea of *ryōbu funi* originated at the beginning of the thirteenth century at the latest.¹²⁹ According to a text of the sixteenth century he quotes in his study, the Daitō contains the Five Buddhas of the Taizō and these Buddhas are the “Buddhas of *ryōbu funi*”.¹³⁰ The text he refers to identifies, among other things, Hōdō and Kaifukeō with respectively Ashuku and Hōshō. This correlation between Buddhas of the two realms is reminiscent of the correspondences noticeable in the above plans and interpretations of the central deities of the Yūgitō. Moreover, the text examined by Shimomatsu states that the Buddhas of the Daitō are fundamentally those of the Taizō, but that they also symbolise the Five Buddhas of the Kongōkai. This means that, on the one hand, we have the visible material representations of five Buddhas, and on the other hand their “counterpart” which is to be conceived mentally. It is not impossible that, also in the case of the descriptions of the interior of the Yūgitō, we have to make a distinction between the visible sculptures and the conceptional “counterparts” they symbolise. There are no indications that these syncretic ideas were already in vogue in Kūkai’s days or at the time of the inauguration of the Yūgitō or the Daitō. The varied descriptions of the interior Buddhas and Bodhisattvas may be later creations of the speculative mind of Shingon scholars, vying with one another for the most sophisticated theory. It is also possible that some of these descriptions are the result of some wrong or strained interpretation. Because of the sketchy history of the Yūgitō it is impossible to decide when and why these different arrangements of the deities came into being.

The history of the Daitō, the main *stūpa* of Kōyasan, is better documented. From the historical records describing the restorations of the Great Stūpa, Shimomatsu concludes

125 See Kōno and Trautz 1934, 36–38.

126 See *MJ*, 249 s.v. Konpon Daitō.

127 Ihara 1984b, 225–226, 234–235.

128 See Shimomatsu 1991.

129 See Shimomatsu 1991, 90. He traces the idea in two texts written by the Shingon monk Kenjin 憲深 (1192–1263). See Shimomatsu 1991, 101–102, note 36.

130 See Shimomatsu 1991, 91–94. The text he quotes from is the *Daitō Gobutsu sueyō* 大塔五仏居様 stored in the Shakamon’in 釈迦文院 (Kōyasan), dated Eishō 永正 16 (= 1519). In an additional note at the end of his study, Shimomatsu adds that there is also another version of this text in the same temple. The colophon of this text is dated Ōei 応永 7 (= 1400). See Shimomatsu 1991, 104.

that the Daitō contained the Five Buddhas of the Taizō until the fire of 1630.¹³¹ This means that the present syncretic arrangement of the five central Buddhas would be relatively new. It is, however, quite possible that the five central Buddhas were considered to stand for the Buddhas of both realms prior to this date, and that this idea was transmitted only orally without depicting it *in concreto* until the seventeenth century.

There is no doubt that future research on the evolution of the Shingon notion of *ryōbu funi* will throw light upon the different descriptions of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, which are at first sight inconsistent and contradictory.

The tendency to represent deities from both of the two realms is also found in Shingon temples outside Kōyasan.¹³² From the *Tōhōki* 東宝記¹³³ we know that in the late-thirteenth century images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the two realms were placed in the first level of the five-storied *stūpa* of the Tōji 東寺, another great temple associated with Kūkai. The *Tōhōki* contains a description and a plan of the arrangement of the statues and the paintings of the deities in the *stūpa*.¹³⁴ According to this plan the four Buddhas of the Vajra Realm were placed on the four sides of the square central pillar. Each Buddha was flanked by two Bodhisattvas. The names of these Bodhisattvas are not mentioned. Sawa assumes that they are the Hachidaibosatsu.¹³⁵ The *Tōhōki* does not make mention of any paintings on the central pillar. However, the two pillars (*shūenbashira*) to the west of the central pillar were decorated with paintings of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Kongōkai: the Four Buddhas of the Kongōkai, the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and the Four Saṃgrahabodhisattvas. The two east pillars were ornamented with paintings of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Taizō: the Four Buddhas and the Four Bodhisattvas of the Taizō, and the main deities of the halls (*in* 院) of the Taizōmandara. It is unclear whether this description follows the original placement of the statues and the paintings in the *stūpa*, which is said to have been completed in the ninth century.¹³⁶ Deities of both the Taizō and the Kongōkai are also represented in the first level of the five-storied *stūpa* of the Daigoji 醍醐寺 in Kyōto, constructed in the tenth century.¹³⁷ In the present building, the square central pillar bears paintings of deities of both realms. Deities of the Chūdai Hachiyō-in 中台八葉院, the Rengebu-in 蓮華部院 and the Kongōshu-in 金剛手院 of the Taizōmandara are painted on respectively the west, north and south side of the central pillar. Paintings of deities of the Ichinne 一印会, the Jōinne 成身会 and the Sanmaya-e 三昧耶会 are represented on the east side of the pillar. Deities of the remaining halls of the Taizō are preserved on the panels

131 See Shimomatsu 1991, 87, 96.

132 For a description of representations of both realms in multi-storied *stūpas* of the Heian Period, see Tomishima 1998. Tomishima describes the arrangement of the statues and the paintings of the deities in the Daitō and in the *stūpas* of the Tōji, Enshōji 円勝寺, Ninnaji, Hōkōgōin 法金剛院, Tōnomine 多武峰, Ennyūji 円融寺, Hosshōji 法勝寺, Hōjōji 法成寺, Rengeōin 蓮華王院 and the Daigoji.

133 The historical record of the Tōji compiled by Gōhō 梟宝 (1306–1362). On the *Tōhōki*, see *MJ*, 523 s.v. *Tōhōki*; *MD*, 1667 s.v. *Tōhōki*.

134 The *Tōhōki* describes the interior of the *stūpa* rebuilt in Einin 永仁 1 (=1293). This passage is quoted in Sawa 1964, 64; Sawa [1972] 1976, 63–75. For the original text, see *Zoku zoku gansho ruijū*, XII, 33–34 (in Hanawa 1907). On the interior of the *stūpa*, see also Sawa 1974, 65–68; Tomishima 1998, 62–65.

135 Sawa 1974, 67. For the Hachidaibosatsu, see above, note 90.

136 See Sawa 1974, 65–66.

137 The interior of the *stūpa* is treated in *KDJ*, I, 76–77; Sawa 1964, 140; Sawa [1972] 1976, 134; Tomishima 1998, 85–89.

near the windows (*renjimado* 連子窓), the wooden boards and the *shitenbashira* surrounding the central pillar in the western half of the *stūpa*. Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the remaining assemblies of the Kongōkai are represented in the eastern half of the *stūpa*.

V. The Symbolism of the Yūgitō

According to the tradition of Shingon scholarship, the Yūgitō symbolises the deep meaning of the *Yūgikeyō*, i.e. the “Non-duality of the Two Sections”, the integration of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhīśambodhi* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.

The *Kōya shunjū bennen shūroku* 高野春秋編年輯録 (“The Spring and Autumn Chronological Compilation of Kōya”), the annals of Kōyasan between 816 and 1718 as compiled by Kaici 懷英 (1642–1727), mentions the Yūgitō in the sixth chapter, under the heading “First month of the second year of Gen’ei 元永 (=1119)”:¹³⁸

Second day. Three new *sanrō ajaris* 山籠阿闍梨¹³⁹ appointed for the Small Stūpa of the Chūin. This is based on a report of Shōkaku Sōzu 勝覺僧都¹⁴⁰ to the Emperor.

According to an oral transmission of the Chūin: “This *stūpa* was originally based on a drawing by the Great Master¹⁴¹ and was constructed by Shinzen Sōjō. It is based on the explanation of the *Yūgikeyō* the five rings 五輪 (*gorin*) on the top manifest the Five Buddhas of the Kon[gōkai]. The set of nine 九対 (*ku-tsui*) below expresses the Nine Honoured Ones of the Tai[zō]. This is namely the deep essence of ‘the cause which is the result’ 因即是果 (*in soku ze ka*). What is there further to ask about the secret meaning?”

In this text the five rings are identified with the five central Buddhas of the Kongōkai. The “set of nine” inside the *stūpa* represent the nine central deities of the Taizō. The rings are in all probability the rings attached to the central shaft 檠管 (*sakkean*) of the *sōrin*. It is unclear what is exactly meant with “the set of nine”. This may be a reference to the central sculpture of Dainichi and the other eight honoured ones painted on eight or four pillars. Anyhow, this short reference in the above annals shows us that the *sōrin* and the pillars (?), respectively exterior and interior components, are the main parts in the esoteric interpretation of the *stūpa*. In the under-mentioned commentaries we shall see that practically all the explanations of the symbolism of the Yūgitō are based on these two elements.

According to the above quotation, the Yūgitō symbolises “the cause which is the result”. The relationship between cause (Skt. *hetu*) and result (Skt. *phala*) is a central concept in Buddhist philosophy. In Japanese esoteric Buddhism cause 因 and result 果 correspond respectively with the Taizōmandara and the Kongōkaimandara.¹⁴²

138 See *KSHS*, 90.

139 A rank in the group of scholarly priests (*gakuryō* 学侶) on Mt. Kōya created in 919 when the head priest (*zasu* 座主) of the Kongōbuji was appointed concurrently the head priest (*chōja* 長者) of the Tōji 東寺. See *MD*, 844–845 s.v. *sanrō*, Wada 1984, 219.

140 1057–1129. Founder of the Sanbōin 三宝院 in the Daigoji 醍醐寺 and the thirty-eighth head of the Tōji. See *MJ*, 373 s.v. Shōkaku. See also note 156, below.

141 Kūkai.

142 See the *Hizōki* 秘藏記, ascribed to Kūkai, in *KDKZ*, IV, 24. See also *MD*, 104 s.v. *ingū*; Snodgrass 1988, I, 135–136.

The *Yugikyō* does not contain any passage that refers to a construction similar to the Yūgitō. On the other hand, most of the representative Japanese commentaries on the text explain the esoteric meaning of the *stūpa* while discussing the meaning of the full title of the *Yugikyō*, i.e. *Kongōburōkaku-nissaiyugayugikyō*. The Japanese tradition of commentary pays much attention to the esoteric meaning of this title.¹⁴³ According to these texts, each element of the title corresponds with one of the two realms.¹⁴⁴ Namely,

Kongōbu 金剛峯 (“Vajra-peak” or “Vajra-top”; 峯 = Skt. *kūṭa*, *śikhara*, *śekhara*)¹⁴⁵ = Kongōkai

Rōkaku 樓閣 (“pavilion”, “palace”; Skt. *agāra*, *āgāra*, *prāsāda*)¹⁴⁶ = Taizō

Issai 一切 (“all”, Skt. *sarva*) would represent *shikishin shobō* 色心諸法 (“all physical and mental elements”). 色心 is further interpreted as follows:

色 (*shiki*, Skt. *rūpa*, “matter”) = 理 (*ri*, “principle”)

心 (*shin*, Skt. *citta*, “mind”) = 智 (*chi*, “knowledge”)

In Shingon *ri* is symbolised in the Taizō and *chi* in the Kongōkai.¹⁴⁷

Yuga 瑜伽 (Skt. *yoga*) = masculine, hence Kongōkai.

Yūgi 瑜祇 (Skt. **yogī*) = feminine, hence Taizō.

In the commentaries we will see that the roof of the *stūpa* symbolises the Kongōkai and that the *stūpa* body with the eight pillars represents the Taizō.

The *Shingon-shū zensho* 真言宗全書 (Vol. V) and the *Zoku Shingon-shū zensho* 続真言宗全書 (Vol. VII), the most comprehensive collection of works on Shingon doctrine and practise compiled by the Kōyasan University, contain the standard commentaries on the *Yugikyō*. Among these texts, the first one which refers to the *stūpa* is the *Yugisūtram hiketsu* 秘訣¹⁴⁸ of the Shingon monk Jichiun 実運 (or Jitsuun, 1105–1160),¹⁴⁹ the eighteenth head priest of the Dai-koji 醍醐寺. The date of the text is unclear and the colophon does not explain the line of transmission. The following passage has been quoted by Ihara Shōren:¹⁵⁰

There is the *Stūpa* of the Non-duality of the Dharma-nature 法性不二塔婆 (Hosshō Funi Tōba) drawn by Daishi.

[This is] mentioned in the records of Gen’un Sōzu 源運僧都. This is namely the oral transmission of Shōken 聖賢.

On top of the said *stūpa* are five rings, these represent “the transformation of the Ninefold Consciousness to attain the Fivefold Wisdom” 九識轉得之五智 (*kushiki tentoku no gochi*)¹⁵¹. On the four

143 The title of the *Yugikyō* is discussed in Vanden Broucke 1994, 208–210.

144 See for example Dōhan, *YKK* (in *SZ*, V, 27); Shōshin, *YHK* (in *SZ*, V, 138–141); Yūgi, *YHD* (in *ZSZ*, VII, 137); Raiyu, *YKJK* (in *ND*, XXXIII, 1).

145 See *JED*, 1088 s.v. *śekhara*, 1070 s.v. *śikhara*, 299 s.v. *kūṭa*; *BWD*, 1346 s.v. *śekhara*, 1328 s.v. *śikhara*, 365 s.v. *kūṭa*.

146 See *JED*, 4 s.v. *agāra*, 130 s.v. *āgāra*, 709 s.v. *prāsāda*; *BWD*, 8 s.v. *agāra*, 183 s.v. *āgāra*, 894 s.v. *prāsāda*, 365–366 s.v. *kūṭāgāra*.

147 See Hakeda 1972, 85–86.

148 Sino-Japanese title *Yugikyō hiketsu* 瑜祇經秘訣. See *SZ*, V, 12. On this text, see *MD*, 2209 s.v. *Yugisōtan hiketsu*; Shippō 1935, 59; *SZ*, XLIII, 10; *BKDJ*, XI, 85. The first half of this passage is also quoted in the *Yukisūtramkuden* 口伝 of Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252), see *ZSZ*, VII, 100–101.

149 On Jichiun, see *MJ*, 304 s.v. Jichiun. Jichiun was initiated by his elder brother Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057–1129).

150 See Ihara 1984b, 234.

151 According to Shingon, the Nine Consciousnesses (Skt. *nijnāna*) transform into the Five Knowledges (Skt. *jñāna*). This *nijnāna-jñāna* transformation is discussed in detail in Snodgrass 1988, II, 590–596; Kiyota 1982, 32–

corners of the roof are four single prongs 独股 (*tokko*). They express the Four Buddhas of the Non-duality 不二之四仏 (Funi no Shibutsu). Based on this, the Five Buddhas of the Introductory Chapter¹⁵² are all non-dualistic Buddhas. As the single prongs are the *samaya*-shape of the non-duality, the five peaks on the roof are the Four Buddhas of the Vajra Realm. Under the roof, inside the doors, one visualises the Nine Honoured Ones of the Taizō. Consequently, the lower part is the cause and the upper part the result. This means the non-duality of cause and result. Under the *stūpa* is a golden turtle. This symbolises the construction of the world. This is based on the meaning of the true non-duality. Add the thought in one syllable of the own nature of the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones of the said chapter on the five peaks on the *stūpa*¹⁵³. This is namely the manifestation of the personal realisation of Buddhahood by all living beings. If one pays attention to it one can deeply speculate on this. The Five-pronged Seal 五股印 (Goko-in) of the said chapter manifests this *stūpa*.

The commentary is illustrated with a drawing of a single-storied *stūpa* that rests on a turtle (see fig. 7). In the centre of the roof is one *sōrin* with five rings. Four single *vajras* are drawn. They are not attached to the roof but are soaring around the *sōrin*. Near the *sōrin* and the *vajras* thirty-seven syllables are added in *siddham*.¹⁵⁴ Jichiun refers to this *stūpa* as The Stūpa of the Non-duality of the Dharma-nature. The text mentions in small characters that Daishi's drawing of the *stūpa* is contained in the records of the monk Gen'un (1112–1180).¹⁵⁵ Gen'un was the second head priest of the Kongōin 金剛王院, a temple in Kyōto which belonged to the Daigoji. He was a disciple of Shōken (1083–1149), who was the founder of the Kongōin and the Kongōin branch, one of the Daigo branches.¹⁵⁶

In this commentary the *stūpa* is adorned with only one *sōrin*. Its five rings are associated with the Fivefold Wisdom, a major Shingon doctrinal concept.¹⁵⁷ No *sōrin* but single-pronged *vajras* are erected on the four corners of the roof. As the roof is associated with the Vajra Realm,

35; Yamasaki 1988, 92–93; *MJ*, 512 s.v. Tenjiki Tokuchi. The following table shows the relationship between the Five Buddhas, the Five Knowledges and the Nine Consciousnesses:

<i>Five Buddhas</i>	<i>Five Knowledges</i>	<i>Nine Consciousnesses</i>
Vairocana	Dharmadhātusvabhāvajñāna	Amalavijñāna
Akṣobhya	Ādarśajñāna	Ālayavijñāna
Ratnasambhava	Samatajñāna	Manas
Amitabha	Pratyavekṣaṇajñāna	Manovijñāna
Amoghasiddhi	Kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna	Caḥsurvijñāna
		Śrotavijñāna
		Ghrāṇavijñāna
		Jihvāvijñāna
		Kāyavijñāna

152 I.e. the Introductory Chapter of the *Yūgikyō*. See T. XVIII no. 867, 253c–255c.

153 The seed syllables (Skt. *bījā*) of the Thirty-seven Deities of the Kongōkai mentioned in the Introductory Chapter of the *Yūgikyō*.

154 A resembling drawing of a *stūpa* with four single *vajras* and *siddham* syllables can be found in Amanuma 1934, 41, fig. 7. Amanuma identifies each syllable with one of the Thirty-seven deities. See Amanuma, op. cit. 17.

155 For Gen'un, see *MD*, 460 s.v. Gen'un. The “records of Gen'un” may be his *Sanjūshichison gyōhōki* 三十七尊行法記, a text which is no longer extant and which is the oral transmission (付法 *juhō*) of Shōken. This text is recorded in Kenjun's 謙順 (1740–1812) *Shōshū shōshoroku* 諸宗章疏錄. See *DBZ*, I–1, 180.

156 Shōken was initiated by Shōkaku 勝覚 (1057–1129) in 1108. Shōkaku was the elder brother and the master of Jichiun. See *MJ*, 376–377 s.v. Shōken; *MD*, 1137 s.v. Shōken. For Shōkaku, see above, note 140.

157 In esoteric Buddhism, the Five Wisdoms are represented by the Five Buddhas, see Kiyota 1978, 61–63. For the relationship between the Five Buddhas and the Five Knowledges, see above, note 151.

these elements undoubtedly stand for the four Buddhas surrounding Vairocana in the Kongō-kaimandara. The central *sōrin* with the five rings presumably represents Vairocana who embodies the four Buddhas. Neither the text nor the drawing represents the Yugitō with five *sōrin*.

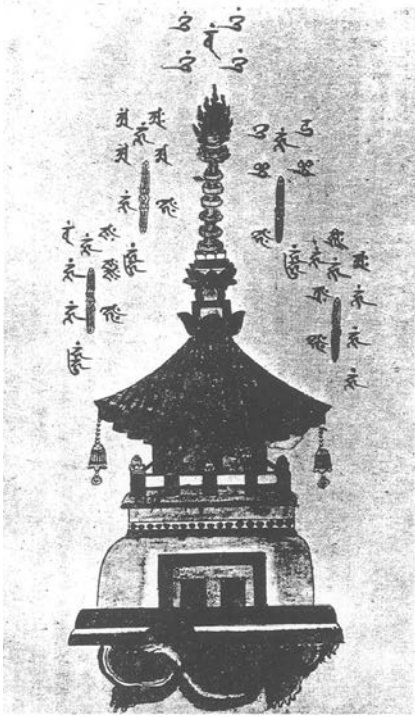


Fig. 7: Drawing of the Yugitō in the *Yugisutraṃ hiketsu* of Jichiu (1105–1160). (after SZ, V, 13)



Fig. 8: *Gegoko-in* (“Outer Five-pronged Seal”). (after MD, Appendix, 43, fig. 67)

The interior of the *stūpa* under the roof represents the Taizō. The fact that Jichiu writes that the Nine Honoured Ones of the Taizō are to be visualised may be an indication that the whole structure is to be considered as an object of meditation. The *Yugisutraṃ hiketsu* is the only commentary here which mentions a golden turtle as a support for the *stūpa*. Our *stūpa* is seen as a structure that represents the universe. The turtle symbolises the universe in the Indian as well as in the Chinese mythologies. Later on we will see a visualisation process of a *stūpa* with five peaks on a turtle, and examples of Japanese miniature reliquary-*stūpas* (*sharitō* 舍利塔) mounted on the back of a turtle.

The Five-pronged Seal mentioned by Jichiu is without doubt the Stūpa Seal 牽觀波印 (Sotoba-in) explained at the end of the introductory chapter of the *Yugikyō*:¹⁵⁸

(...) bend the Energy (= right hand index)¹⁵⁹ and the Power (= left hand index) like a hook and unite the Charity (= right hand little finger), the Wisdom (= left hand little finger), the Meditation (= right hand thumb) and the Knowledge (= left hand thumb). This is called the Great Seal 大印 (Dai-in).

158 See T. XVIII no. 867, 255c6–7.

159 For the secret appellations of the fingers in the formation of *mudrās*, see Saunders [1960]1985, 32–34.

According to the *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辞典, p. 1649 s.v. Tō-in,¹⁶⁰ this *mudrā* is also called Ge(baku)goko-in 外(縛)五股印 (“Outer (Bonds) Five-pronged Seal”), or Gokotō-in 五股塔印 (“Five-pronged Stūpa Seal”). It belongs to a category of *mudrās* called Goko-in 五股印 (“Five-pronged Seal”).¹⁶¹ There are also variants of this Gegoko-in depending on the different transmissions in the branches of the Shingon school. The *Yugikyō* does not specify the pose of the middle and ring fingers. According to the figure in the appendix of the *Mikkyō Daijiten*,¹⁶² the ends of the middle fingers touch each other and the ring fingers are not erected (see fig. 8). The Gegoko-in represents the shape of a five-pronged *vajra* and symbolises, among other things, the Five Knowledges and the Five Buddhas, elements that are also present in the roof of the Yugitō. As the Gegoko-in is based on the Gebaku Ken-in 外縛拳印 (“Outer Bonds Fist Seal”) it belongs to the Vajra Realm.¹⁶³ Consequently it is also called Chitō-in 智塔印 (“Knowledge Stūpa Seal”).¹⁶⁴

Another commentary contained in the *Shingon-shū zensho* is the *Yugisutraṃ kuketsu* 口決 of the Shingon scholar-priest Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252), a disciple of Kakukai 覚海 (1142–1223).¹⁶⁵ Dōhan’s work is based on the oral transmission of Jitsugen 実賢 (1176–1249) of the Kongōin branch.¹⁶⁶ In the colophon we read that the commentary was completed in 1241. The following quotation may also be found in Manabe Shunshō’s article on the Yugitō-zu.¹⁶⁷

Question: What is the non-dual meaning of the Introductory Chapter? Answer: The order in which the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones are explained expresses non-duality. Moreover, there is the drawing of the Stūpa of the Dharma-nature 法性塔 (Hosshōtō) drawn by Daishi. The records of Jichiu Sōzu are the oral transmission of Shōken Ajari 聖賢阿闍梨, Shō Ajari of the Kongōin.¹⁶⁸ On top of the *stūpa* are five peaks. These are the Five Knowledges. Inside the doors below are the Nine Honoured Ones. The Five Knowledges above are the Kongō[kai]; the Nine Honoured Ones below [are] the Tai[zōkai]. The Five Knowledges are the result, the Nine Conciousnesses the cause. This is then the “Non-duality of Cause and Result” 因果不二 (*inga funi*). It is the *samaya* of the non-duality of the Buddha and the living, the *maṇḍala* of the essential nature of the Dharma Realm 法界体性曼荼羅 (Hokkai taishō mandara). Shinzen Sōjō constructed this *stūpa*. It is the Small Stūpa of the Chuin of Kōya. Matters concerning the *stūpa* of this drawing can be asked for in detail in the oral transmissions. This is the point of the scripture.

According to the addition at the back: “On top of the Small Stūpa of the Chuin are five rings. Inside the water-ring 水輪 (*suirin*),¹⁶⁹ Dainichi of the Taizō is installed together with two Buddhas

160 Tō-in 塔印: *mudrās* in the shape of a *stūpa*, also called *Sotoba-in*.

161 See *MD*, 583–584 s.v. Goko-in; *MJ*, 208 s.v. Goko-in.

162 See *MD*, Appendix, 43, fig. 67.

163 The Gebaku Ken-in is the “mother-*mudrā*” (印母 *inmo*) of all the conventional seals (Sanmaya-in 三昧耶印) of the Kongōkai. One forms it by clasping the hands, palm to palm, and by crossing the fingers on the outside of the fist. See Saunders [1960]1985, 38–40.

164 See *MJ*, 517 s.v. Tō-in.

165 Sino-Japanese title *Yugikyō kuketsu* 瑜祇經口決, cf. above, note 117. See *SZ*, V, 46. On this commentary, see *MD*, 2206 s.v. *Yugikyō kuketsu*; *SZ*, XLIII, 11–12; Shippō 1935, 59–60; *NBTD*, 525 s.v. *Yugisotaran kuketsu*; *BKDJ*, XI, 84. On Dōhan, see *MJ*, 522 s.v. Dōhan.

166 Jitsugen was initiated by Shōken 勝賢 (1138–1196) in 1196 and was also one of the disciples of Jōhen 靜遍 (1165–1223). See *MJ*, 307 s.v. Jitsugen. For Jōhen, see below, note 174.

167 See Manabe 1988, 564.

168 Shōkaku, the elder brother and the master of Jichiu, initiated Shōken. See above, note 156.

169 Another appellation for the cylindrical *stūpa* body. See Adachi 1941, 15.

and two Bodhisattvas as the Five Buddhas. These ‘gather’ (or ‘embody’, ‘comprise’, 略撰, comp. Skt. *samgraha*) the Nine Honoured Ones.”

Dōhan refers to the Yūgitō to show the non-dual meaning of the said chapter of the *Yūgikyō*. He writes that the *stūpa* represents the important matter of the text. He obviously relies on Jichūn’s commentary and is of the opinion that this commentary is based on Shōken’s teachings. Dōhan’s passage on the Yūgitō is less detailed but in line with the first commentary. However, new information on the deities inside the *stūpa* is found in the note at the back of the text. This note is followed by an explanation that we have already discussed above, IV.

The *stūpa* is also briefly discussed in the *Asabashō* 阿娑嚩抄 of the Tendai monk Shōchō 承澄 (1205–1282) compiled between 1242 and 1281.¹⁷⁰ The following passage is also quoted in Mochizuki Shinkō’s *Bukekyō daijiten* 仏教大辞典:¹⁷¹

The Stūpa of the Dharma-nature. The four single prongs on the roof manifest the Four Knowledges. The five rings that stand in the middle are the Tathāgata filled with the Five Knowledges. The seed-syllables are the seed-syllables of the Thirty-Seven Honoured Ones. Therefore, above the roof is the Vajra Realm. The pavilion under the roof is the Taizō Realm. The whole *stūpa* symbolises the body of the Non-duality of the Two Sections Tai[zōkai] and Kon[gōkai]. This is the Jewelled Pavilion with Five Peaks 五峯宝楼閣 (Gobu Hōrōkaku) of the title of the *Yūgikyō*.

No new elements are found here. Interesting is the explicit reference to the title of the *Yūgikyō*. Another commentary that refers explicitly to the title of the *Yūgikyō* is quoted by Ihara Shōren.¹⁷² The text in question is the *Yūgikyō shūkoshō* 瑜祇經拾古鈔 compiled by the Shin-gon monk Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226–1304) and dated 1284.¹⁷³ Raiyu’s passage on the *stūpa* is based on the transmission of the monk Jōhen 静遍 (1165–1223), one of Dōhan’s masters.¹⁷⁴

The Vajra-peak is the *vajra* with the five divisions 五部杵, that is, the whole of the Five Knowledges of Dainichi. The Pavilion is the Pavilion with Eight Pillars 八柱楼閣 (Hatchū Rōkaku), that is, the eight petals of the Taizō. Yugayugi means the Union of Meditation and Wisdom 定慧相応 (Jōe Sōō); this manifests the meaning of the non-duality of the two sections. This is namely the construction of the Pavilion with Five Peaks and Eight Pillars 五峯八柱楼閣 (Gobu Hatchū Rōkaku) in the own body. It is not necessary to construct a platform 壇 (*dan*) outside the mind.

This commentary does not mention nine deities in the interior of the *stūpa*, but refers to the *stūpa* body as the pavilion with eight pillars: the eight petals of the Taizō. The *stūpa* is seen here as an object to visualise mentally.

170 See *T. Zuzō*, IX, 857c. On the *Asabashō*, see Yamamoto 1980, 47–50; *MJ*, 4–5 s.v. *Asabashō*. On Shōchō, see *MJ*, 385 s.v. Shōchō.

171 See *BDJ*, V, 4925 s.v. *Yūgitō*.

172 See Ihara 1984b, 233.

173 On this text, see *MD*, 2206 s.v. *Yūgikyō shūkoshō*; *BKDJ*, XI, 84. On Raiyu, see *MJ*, 696–697 s.v. Raiyu; Yamasaki 1988, 41–42.

174 See *ND*, XXXIII, 1. On Jōhen, see *MD*, 1195 s.v. Jōhen. Also mentioned above, note 166. Jōhen is the author of the *Yūgikyōshō* 瑜祇經抄, a commentary on the *Yūgikyō*. The title of this text is contained in *BKDJ*, XI, 84. No location of this text is mentioned in *KS*, VII, 852d. Ihara (1984a, 419, note 15) assumes that Raiyu quotes from this text in his commentary.

The *Yugi hijōketsu* 瑜祇秘要決 compiled in 1357 by the Shingon monk Shōshin 性心 (1287–1357) contains information on our *stūpa* not mentioned in the previous quotations.¹⁷⁵ The following passage is found at the beginning of the section that deals with the title of the *Yugikyō*.¹⁷⁶

Kongōburōkaku 金剛峯樓閣 (“The Vajra-peak Pavilion”) is the dwelling place of Dainichi, the Lord of the Teaching 教主大日 (Kyōshu Dainichi), and others. It is the Pavilion with Five Peaks and Eight Pillars. The first chapter of the *Ryakushutsukyō* 略出經 says: “build a big palace with the five syllables *vaṃ*, *hūṃ*, *trāḥ*, *hrīḥ* and *aḥ*.”¹⁷⁷ The four corners of this palace are equal. Add four gates. To the left and the right of these gates are banners of good fortune 吉祥幢 (*keichijōdō*). A railing encircles it and there is a quadruple stairway. On top of this palace is a pavilion with five peaks. It is adorned with all kinds of coloured silk, pearl nets and flower garlands that are hung up . . . Inside the palace is a *maṇḍala*. The centre is decorated with eight *vajra*-pillars.” This is the palace of the Vajra Realm 金剛界宮殿 (Kongōkai Gūden). The two sections cannot be divided. But the five peaks correspond with a *yang* 陽 number; the eight pillars answer to a *yin* 陰 number. *Yin* and *yang* are male and female and are equal to Principle and Knowledge. This is faultless. The *Shūko* 拾古¹⁷⁸ says: “The Vajra-peak is the Vajra with the Five Divisions 五部杵, that is, the whole of the Five Knowledges of Dainichi. The pavilion is the Pavilion with Eight Pillars, that is, the eight petals of the Taizō.” The *Hizōki* 秘藏記 says: “On top there is a pavilion with eight pillars. On each petal there is one pillar. Inside the pavilion there is a *maṇḍala*. Whether it is square, round, big or small is at your own discretion. On top of it there is a white lotus with eight petals. Put the syllable *a* on top of the lotus platform. It radiates light and becomes a *stūpa*.”

The *Ryakushutsukyō* (or *Ryakushutsunenjukyō*), in full *Kongōchōyugachūryakushutsunenjukyō* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (T. XVIII no. 866), is one of the three Chinese versions of the *Tatvasaṃgraha*.¹⁷⁹ The quotation in the *Yugi hijōketsu* is part of a section on the visualisation of the place of practice 道場觀 (*dōjōkan*).¹⁸⁰ The preceding lines are also worth mentioning.¹⁸¹

Imagine in the void that the syllable *vaṃ* becomes Buddha Vairocana. He is provided with compassion and pours milk at both sides reaching Cakravāla.¹⁸² This becomes the great sea of *amṛta*.¹⁸³ Furthermore, imagine in this sea that the syllable *pra* becomes in the shape of a turtle.¹⁸⁴ This turtle is coloured like gold.¹⁸⁵ The size of its body is innumerable *yojana*.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore,

175 On this commentary, see *MD*, 2210 s.v. *Yugi hijōketsu*; *BKDJ*, XIII, 488–489; Shippō 1935, 60; *SZ*, XLIII, 12–13. On Shōshin, see *MJ*, 381 s.v. Shōshin.

176 See *SZ*, V, 138.

177 These syllables represent the Five Buddhas of the Vajra Realm, respectively Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. See *MD*, 622 s.v. Gochimiyō; Yoshida [1970] 1978, 5–12, 108–110.

178 Raiyu’s *Yugikyō shūkoshō*.

179 See *MJ*, 241–242 s.v. *Kongōchōkyō*.

180 T.XVIII no. 866, 227a25–29. See *MD*, 1660–1661 s.v. *dōjōkan*.

181 See T.XVIII no. 866, 227a18–26. Quoted in Morita 1962, 46.

182 Rin’isen 輪閉山 (see *BD*, 1430 s.v. Rin’i) or Tetchisen 鉄閉山 (see *BD*, 978 s.v. Tetchisen). See Soothill [1937] 1975, 485 s.v. T’ieh-wei-shan 鐵圍山: “Cakravāla, Cakravāḍa. The iron enclosing mountains supposed to encircle the earth, forming the periphery of a world. Mount Meru is the centre and between it and the Iron mountains are the seven 金山 metal-mountains and the eight seas.” On the Buddhist cosmography, see Kirfel 1920, 178–207.

183 *Kanro* 甘露, the nectar of immortality. See Soothill [1937] 1975, 195 s.v. *kan-lu* 甘露.

184 On the esoteric meaning of this syllable, see *MD*, 654 s.v. Konki.

185 The so-called Konki (or Kinki) 金龜, see *MD*, 654 s.v. Konki.

186 *Yujun* 由旬. One *yojana* is the distance of about seven kilometres. See *IBJ*, 814 s.v. *yujun*.

imagine the syllable *brīḥ* on the back of the turtle. This syllable transforms and becomes red coloured. The red-glowing lotus is joyful and subtle. This flower is three-layered. The layers consist of eight petals, a calyx and a pistil.¹⁸⁷ On the calyx, imagine the three characters *pra*, *hūṃ* and *khaṃ* becoming Mt. Sumeru. This mountain is made of multitudes of jewels and has eight corners. On top of the mountain imagine the five syllables *vaṃ*, *hūṃ*, *trāḥ*, *brīḥ* and *aḥ* and form a big palace.

The text continues with the visualisation of the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones of the Kongōkai. The passage quoted by Shōshin is part of a description of the visualisation of the Kongōkaimandara. The construction described here has five peaks and eight inner pillars. There is, however, no indication of any syncretic meaning. Nevertheless, Shōshin clearly sees a male-female polarity in the peaks and the pillars. He even associates the uneven number five with the male, and the even number eight with the female. Moreover, the terms *yin* and *yang* are non-Buddhist terms which belong to Chinese cosmology.¹⁸⁸

The *Hizōki*, traditionally attributed to Kūkai, explains more than one hundred items on the practical and doctrinal aspects of Shingon Buddhism.¹⁸⁹ The passage quoted in the *Yugī hijōketsu* is part of a section that deals with the visualisation of the place of practice.¹⁹⁰ The *Hizōki* mentions a palace with eight pillars but does not refer to any peaks. In the *Taishō zōkyō zuzōbu* 大正藏經圖像部 (Vol. I), the iconographic section of the *Taishō Edition*, the *Hizōki* is illustrated with two drawings of the *stūpa* to be visualised here.¹⁹¹ At the bottom of fig. 1 of the *Taishō zōkyō zuzōbu* a crescent-shaped figure is drawn (see fig. 9). The characters 風輪 (*fūrin*, “wind-ring”) are written on it. On this crescent rests a circle in which we read 水輪満月 (*suirin mangetsu*, “water-ring, full moon”). Inside the circle a turtle is drawn floating on waves. On its back it carries a rock. On top of it there is a two-storied *stūpa* resting on a lotus. To the left there is a small moon-circle and to the right a sun-circle. No *sōrin* are added on top of the roof. Instead we see two protrusions which remind us of the *shibi* 鴟尾, ornamental tiles at the end of the ridgepole of Japanese temples.¹⁹² In the second figure of the *Taishō zōkyō zuzōbu* a mass of water with a turtle rests on a crescent moon (see fig. 10). The turtle carries a tall rock with a small circle to the left and the right. On top of the rock is a small two-storied building resting on a lotus.¹⁹³

Although the *stūpa* is generally referred to as the Yūgitō in modern Japanese studies and Buddhist lexica, none of the above-mentioned commentaries mention it by this name. Among the sources consulted in this study only the relatively late *Kūi zōku fudoki* and the *Yasan meireishū* call the *stūpa* Yūgitō. The quoted commentaries refer to the Yūgitō as Hosshōtō 法性塔 (“Stūpa of the Dharma-nature”), Hosshō Funitō 法性不二塔 (“Stūpa of the Non-duality of the Dharma-nature”) and Chūin Shōtō 中院小塔 (“Small Stūpa of the Chūin”). The appellation (Chūin) Shōtō is also found in historical records of Kōyasan, for example the *Kōya shunjū bennen shūroku* and the *Kūi zōku fudoki*. The absence of the word

187 藥 also means “stamen”.

188 Cf. Seckel 1957, 75; Needham 1959, III, 55, 57; Van Gulik [1961] 1974, 17.

189 On this text, see Goepfer 1995, 184–187; Kōda 1993.

190 For the original text, see *KDKZ*, IV, 28; *KDCZ*, II, 626; *T.Zuzō*, I, 3.

191 See *T.Zuzō*, I, figs. 1–2. They can also be found in Manabe 1988, 552.

192 See Mizuno 1959, 417–418 s.v. *shibi*.

193 This drawing resembles the Indian drawing of a pavilion on Mt. Meru included in Snodgrass [1985] 1991, 261, fig. 183.

Yugitō in the above commentaries, which date back to the end of the Heian and the beginning of the Kamakura Period, may indicate that the Yugitō is not the original but a later designation for our *stūpa*.

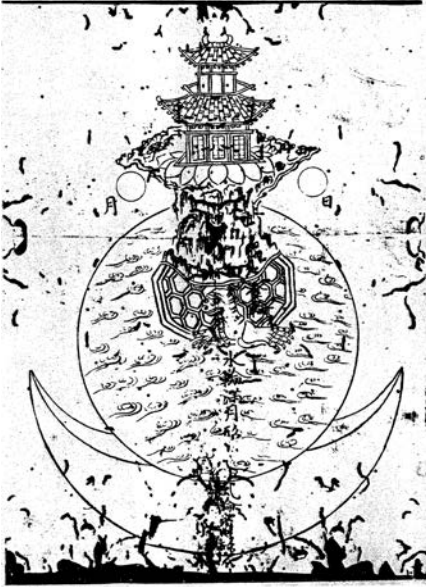


Fig. 9: Visualization of the place of practice (*Dojōkan*) according to the *Hizōki*. (after T. Zuzō, I, fig. 1)



Fig. 10: Idem. (after T. Zuzō, I, fig. 2)

Apparently the Yugitō is in the first place a *stūpa* to be produced mentally. Shōshin's commentary considers it as the abode of Dainichi. All the quoted commentaries consider the *stūpa* as a symbolisation of the "Non-duality of the Two Sections". The roof is seen as the Kongōkai and the interior of the *stūpa* body as the Taizō. The roof and the interior are further identified with other esoteric concepts, such as meditation and wisdom. These correspondences can be tabulated as follows:

<i>The top of the stūpa with its five peaks</i>	<i>The interior of the stūpa</i>
Kongōkai	Taizō
Five Knowledges	Nine Consciousnesses
Result	Cause
Five peaks = yang number, hence male	Eight pillars = yin number, hence female
	Eight petals of the Taizō
Knowledge	Principle

The texts do not all describe the *stūpa* in the same way. According to the *Yugisutraṃ hiketsu* and the *Asabashō* the roof has one *sōrin* with five rings and one single-pronged *vajra* on each roof-corner. No commentary explicitly refers to five *sōrin*. The *Yugikyō shūkohō* and the *Yugī hijōketsu* mention eight pillars in the *stūpa*, whereas the *Yugisutraṃ hiketsu* and the *Yugisutraṃ kuketsu* refer to the Nine Honoured Ones.

Neither of these commentaries refers to any particular passage in the *Yugikyō* for the textual basis of the *stūpa*. Nothing in the title or the text of the *Yugikyō* indicates that the

Kongōbu (Vajra-peak) consists of five peaks or that the Rōkaku (Pavilion) is to be constructed with eight pillars. A five-pronged vajra is only mentioned in the first chapter as an attribute:¹⁹⁴

After they had voiced this praise, the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi cast into the void the five-pronged *vajra* 五峯金剛 (*gobu kongō*) held in his right hand. (The *vajra*) became quietly united and abided again in his hand. He explained this *vajra*: *būm*.

The entry on the Yugitō in Mochizuki Shinkō's *Bukeyō daijiten* refers to the *vajra* of this passage as a base for the structure with five peaks and eight pillars.¹⁹⁵ But Ihara Shōren correctly argues that it is difficult to consider this element as the foundation of the Gobu Hatchū.¹⁹⁶ As a matter of fact, the five-pronged *vajra* is one of the conventional attributes of Vajrapāṇi.¹⁹⁷

The pavilion with the five roof peaks and eight pillars described in the *Ryakushutsunen-jukyō* conforms to the main characteristics of the Yugitō. This pavilion is mentioned repeatedly in *Mikkyō daijiten*.¹⁹⁸ In this encyclopedia it is defined as the pavilion on the summit of Mount Sumeru and it is considered to be the same as the Daimaniden 大摩尼殿 (“Great Jewelled Palace”) of the *Rishukyō* 理趣經.¹⁹⁹ According to the *Mikkyō daijiten* it is the abode of the deities of the *maṇḍala* and it is called Hōrōkaku 宝楼阁 (“Jewelled Pavilion”) because it is made of *vajra*-jewels 金剛宝 (*kongōhō*). This work also discerns two types of pavilions: the Gobu Hatchū (“Five Peaks and Eight Pillars”) and the Hachibu Hatchū 八峯八柱 (“Eight Peaks and Eight Pillars”).²⁰⁰ For the first type, the *Mikkyō daijiten* refers to the *Ryakushutsunen-jukyō*. We also read that there would be one pillar at each side of the four gateways (i.e. eight pillars in total) but none inside the building. However, in the *Ryakushutsunen-jukyō* we have seen that there are also eight pillars in the centre of the *maṇḍala* inside the palace. The encyclopedia adds that the five peaks and the eight pillars signify respectively the Five Knowledges of the Kongōkai and the eight petals of the Taizōkai. The pavilion is said to express the Hokkai Tōba 法界塔婆 (“Dharma Realm Stūpa”)²⁰¹ in which the two realms are non-dual and where Principle and Knowledge are one. Unfortunately, the *Mikkyō daijiten* does not refer to any source for this interpretation. The encyclopedia refers under the entry *rōkaku* 楼閣 to another text for the detailed characteristics of the pavilion: the *Kanjizaidai-*

194 See *T*, XVIII no. 867, 254a22–26.

195 See *BDJ*, V, 4925 s.v. Yugitō.

196 See Ihara 1984b, 237, note 25.

197 Also called Vajrasattva, see *MJ*, 234–235 s.v. Kongōsatta.

198 See *MD*, 2038–2039 s.v. Hōrōkaku.

199 See *MD*, 1540 s.v. Daimaniden. See also Astley-Kristensen 1991, 39, 63–66. In the opening section of Amoghavajra's (705–774, Jpn. Fukō 不空) version of the *Rishukyō* (see *T*, VIII no. 243, 784a 20–21; for an English translation, see Astley-Kristensen 1991, 39), Vairocana is residing in the palace of the Paranirmitavaśavartin heaven in the sphere of desire (Yokukai Takejizai Tennōgū 欲界他化自在天王宮). This is described as a great jewelled hall (Daimaniden 大摩尼殿). In his commentary of the *Rishukyō* (*T*, XIX no. 1003, 607c 9–12), Amoghavajra considers this heaven as a *maṇḍala*. This *maṇḍala* is furthermore described as “the jewelled pavilion with the *vajra*-peak formed from the great and wonderful adamantine five jewels” (大妙金剛五宝所成金剛峰宝楼阁). According to this text it contains eight pillars. See also Astley-Kristensen 1991, 62.

200 See also Snodgrass 1988, II, 573–574, note 18.

201 Explained briefly in *MD*, 1994 s.v. Hōkaitōba; *MJ*, 638 s.v. Hōkaitōba.

hijōjuyugarengibunenjūbōmon 觀自在大悲成就瑜伽蓮華部念誦法門 (T. XX no. 1030) translated by Amoghavajra (705–774).²⁰² Here we read:

These syllables²⁰³ form one Mt. Sumeru. The mountain has eight peaks and is made of multitudes of jewels. Visualise five chambers 五室 (*goshitsu*) inside the mountain. Outside, there seem to be five chambers, but inside they are one. Inside this chamber visualise eight great *vajra*-pillars.

This description differs considerably from the *Ryakushutsunenjukyō*. According to the *Mikkyō daijiten* the most detailed description of the Gobu Hatchū is found in the *Ryakushutsunenjukyō*.²⁰⁴

According to the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, the Vajradhātumaṇḍala was revealed for a second time in the Vajramaṇiratnaśikharakūṭāgāra (金剛摩尼宝峯楼閣 Kongōmanihōburōkaku) on the summit of Mt. Sumeru.²⁰⁵ As a matter of fact, the Karma Assembly 羯磨会 (Katsuma-e), also called the Assembly of the Perfect Body 成身会 (Jōjinne), can be interpreted as a two-dimensional representation of this palace. Toganoo Shōun in his study on the *maṇḍalas* mentions this interpretation.²⁰⁶ He refers to one Tibetan and to two Chinese versions of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.²⁰⁷ Adrian Snodgrass also gives a detailed description of this assembly and its relation with the Rōkaku in English:²⁰⁸

The central portion of the Perfected Body Maṇḍala is bordered by a “diamond circle” (*kongō-rin*) made up of three-prong vajras placed end to end. (...) Within the diamond circle there are five Liberation circles (*gedatsu-rin*), one at the centre and one in each of the four directions. Each of the circles in the four directions is flanked by two tangential bands of vajras, running from the border of the central Liberation circle to the diamond circle.

These components signify the Jewel Tower on the summit of Mount Sumeru:²⁰⁹ the diamond circle is the outer wall of the Jewel Tower; the five Liberation circles are the five roof peaks or ridgepoles that stand above the thrones of the five Buddhas; the gods of the four Elements represent the five Elements that support the Jewel Tower, being four of the five cakras which support the cosmos; and the eight bands of vajras flanking the Liberation circles in the four directions are the eight columns of the four gateways of the Jewel Tower.

The eight columns and five roof peaks represent the non-duality of Principle and Knowledge (*chiri-jun*). The Jewel Tower is the Dharma World Stūpa (*hokkai-tōba*), in which the Matrix World of Principle and the Diamond World of Knowledge interpenetrate: the five roof peaks symbolize the five Knowledges of the five Buddhas of the Diamond World, and the eight columns represent the eight petals of the lotus dais of the Matrix World, corresponding to the eight types of consciousness.

202 See *MD*, 2306 s.v. *rōkaku*. For the original text, see T. XX no. 1030, 3a 17–20. This text is also mentioned in Snodgrass 1988, II, 574, note 18.

203 Cf. the syllables *hrīḥ*, *pra*, *su* and *hūṃ* mentioned in the lines preceding this passage in the original text. See T. XX no. 1030, 3a 11–17.

204 See *MD*, 2307 s.v. *rōkakukan* (“visualisation of the pavilion”).

205 See Toganoo [1927]1982, 195–196; Snodgrass 1988, II, 570; Snodgrass [1985] 1991, 340–341; Inui 1993, 174.

206 See Toganoo 1982, 207–209. See also Snodgrass [1985]1991, 152; Snodgrass 1988, II, 572; Kottkamp 1992, 327.

207 See Toganoo [1927]1982, 204–206.

208 See Snodgrass 1988, II, 573–575 and 575, fig. 299.

209 See diagram in Snodgrass 1988, II, 574, fig. 297.

Most interesting is the idea of the eight pillars and five roof peaks representing the Non-duality of Principle and Knowledge. Unfortunately, Snodgrass does not refer to any sources or texts. This idea which combines elements of two different scriptures is neither referred to in Toganoō's work or in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* itself. Exactly the same view is present in Kanbayashi Ryūjō's commentary on the Daimaniden of the *Rishukyō*.²¹⁰ But also in this work, the author does not mention any sources or commentarial tradition to support his contention.

Apparently there is also a tradition which explains the Yūgitō as well as the Daitō as an imitation of the so-called Iron Stūpa of Southern India, the Nanten Tettō 南天鉄塔.²¹¹ This is a legendary *stūpa* where Vajrasattva transmitted the esoteric teaching of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and the *Vairocanaḥhisambodhi* to Nāgārjuna (龍猛 Ryūmyō), one of the patriarchs of esoteric Buddhism.²¹² It is not clear what this *stūpa* really was. Tradition considers this *stūpa* as an ideal *stūpa* that symbolises the dharmakāya of Vairocana. Some see it as a real edifice and identify it with an actual South Indian *stūpa*.²¹³ In Japan there exists a number of idealised drawings and paintings of the Nanten Tettō.²¹⁴ In these Nanten Tettō-zu 南天鉄塔図 the *stūpa* is depicted as a typical Japanese (Ta)hōtō (多)宝塔 type *stūpa* with one *sōrin*.²¹⁵

Two historical sources mention the Nanten Tettō as a model for the Yūgitō. The *Kōyasan junreiki* 高野山順礼記 ("The Pilgrimage Records of Kōyasan") contained in the *Zoku gansho ruijū* 続群書類従 ("The Later Classified Collection of Miscellaneous Books"), a collection of important historical materials brought together by the bibliographer Hanawa Hokinoichi 塙保己一 (1746–1821), provides the following information:²¹⁶

The Small Stūpa of the Chūin is modelled after the Iron Stūpa of South India. The said Iron Stūpa [measures] three *ken* 間 of six *shaku* 尺.²¹⁷ Originally there were thirty-seven.²¹⁸ They manifest the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones. Six *shaku* and three *ken*, three times six makes eighteen. This manifests the Eighteen Assemblies (十八会 Jūhachi-e).²¹⁹

A similar passage may be found in the *Kii zoku sudoki*:²²⁰

210 See Kanbayashi, [1933]1976, 330; Astley-Kristensen 1991, 62.

211 On the Nanten Tettō, see Yamasaki 1988, 86–89; Tajima 1936, 30–34 (English translation in Wayman and Tajima 1992, 237–240); Snodgrass 1988, I, 111 ff.; Orzech 1995. The Daitō is also explained as an imitation of the Nanten Tettō. See Ihara 1984b, 225.

212 According to Tōmitsu 東密, the esoteric Buddhism introduced by Kūkai, both the teachings of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and the *Vairocanaḥhisambodhi* were transmitted to Nāgārjuna within this *stūpa* (Tōnai Sōjō 塔内相承). According to the tradition of Taimitsu 台密, the esoteric Buddhism of the Japanese Tendai 天台 school, the *Vairocanaḥhisambodhi* was transmitted outside the *stūpa* (Tōge Sōjō 塔外相承). See Snodgrass 1988, I, 113–114; *MD*, 1625 s.v. Tettō Sōjō.

213 For example Toganoō Shōun proposes that the Nanten Tettō was the great *stūpa* of Amaraṇavati. See *MJ*, 534 s.v. Nanten Tettō.

214 See Manabe 1983.

215 See for example Kanagawa-kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko 1991, 109, fig. 148; Manabe 1988, 562–564, figs. 7–12.

216 See *ZGS*, XXVIII, 299. Quoted in *BDJ*, V, 4925 s.v. Yūgitō, and in Manabe 1988, 562.

217 1 *ken* = 6 *shaku* (=about 1,8 meters).

218 The original text misses one character: ... 來卅七也. Manabe (1988, 562) reads 元來三十七は三十七尊を表し.

219 The Eighteen Assemblies (Jūhachi-e 十八会) in which the series of texts related to the Vajra Realm were transmitted. The *Tattvasaṃgraha* is the first of this series. See Kiyota 1978, 23.

220 *ZSZ*, XXXVII, 634. Compare also with the quotation in Amanuma 1934, 198.

The records of the *ācārya* Dōhan²²¹ say: “the little *stūpa* of the Chūin is modelled after the Iron *Stūpa* of South India. The said Iron *Stūpa* [measures] three *ken* of six *shaku*. There are thirty-seven rafters (垂木 *taruki*). These rafters symbolise the Thirty-seven Honoured Ones. The three *ken* of six *shaku* manifest the Eighteen Assemblies.”

The measures of the Iron *Stūpa* are probably the result of Japanese speculation. As far as I know, no Chinese source mentions any measures of this *stūpa*. As we do not have any detailed drawing of the old Yugitō it is also impossible to check the exact number of the rafters. The numbers eighteen and thirty-seven are associated with elements of the *Kongōchōkyō*. There is no reference to the *Dainichikyō*.

There exists also a certain connection between the Yugitō and Aizen Myōō, a deity who is also contained in the present Yugitō. This *vidyārāja* (明王 *myōō*) is described in detail in the *Yugikyō*, the oldest extant text dealing with this deity. According to the Tōmitsu 東密 view, the text explains the concentration of Aizen Myōō.²²² Our *stūpa* is to be visualised in the so-called Large Ritual (大法 *Daihō*) for Aizen Myōō. A survey of this ritual based on the *Usuzōshi* 薄双紙 is given by Roger Goepper in his comprehensive study on Aizen.²²³ Here follows his translation of the step dealing with the visualisation of the place where the deity is to be invoked:²²⁴

On the altar there is the character ‘Aḥ’ which changes into a precious towered pavilion (*hōrōkaku*) with five peaks and eight pillars symbolizing the Five Kinds of Esoteric Knowledge (*gochi*) of the *Kongōkai Mandara* and the eight leaves of the central lotus of the *Taizōkai Mandara* respectively. The pavilion therefore expresses the idea of the Non-Duality of the Two Departments (*ryōbu-funi*). Inside the pavilion should be imagined a wonderful altar, placed on it the character ‘Hṛīḥ’ which changes into a lotus flower of red colour. On the lotus there is the character ‘A’ which turns into a flaming sun disk containing the character ‘Hūṃ’ which changes into a Five-Pronged Vajra. This Vajra is then to be transformed into the figure of Kongō-Aizen-myōō, his appearance being as usual.

Among the Nanten Tettō-zu discussed by Manabe Shunshō there is also one painting stored in the Hasedera 長谷寺 that depicts Aizen sitting inside the Iron *Stūpa*.²²⁵ The *stūpa* is depicted as a (Ta)hōtō with one *sōrin*. To the left and the right of the upper part of the painting the seed-syllables of the Five Buddhas of respectively the Kongō and Taizōkai are written in *siddham*. At the top of the painting, the three syllables *boh*, *trāḥ* and *hūṃ* are written in a smaller size. These syllables presumably represent Aizen.²²⁶ Under the *stūpa* a big syllable *a* is drawn in a sun disk on a lotus. At both sides of this syllable, four of the Eight Patriarchs of Shingon are sitting.²²⁷ This particular drawing clearly represents the union of the two realms. The fact that Aizen occupies the interior of the *stūpa* indicates an affinity to the *Yugikyō*. A similar painting is found in

221 Probably the *Kōyasan hiki* 高野山秘記 ascribed to Dōhan. Practically the same passage on the Yugitō is included in this text, see Abe 1982, 69. This text is discussed in op. cit. 27.

222 See MD, 723 s.v. *Kongōburōkakuissaiyugayugikyō*, BDJ, II, 1350 s.v. *Kongōburōkakuissaiyugayugikyō*.

223 The *Usuzōshi* is a collection of rituals written by Seigen 成賢 (1162–1231) included in T. LXXVIII no. 2495. On this work, see MJ, 40–41 s.v. *Usuzōshi*.

224 See Goepper 1993, 139.

225 See Manabe 1983, 10–11, 12 fig. E. The upper part of the scroll bears an inscription in ink with a date corresponding to 1804.

226 On *boh*, *trāḥ* and *hūṃ* as the seed syllables of Aizen, see Goepper 1993, 120–124.

227 According to Manabe (1983, 10) the Denji Hasso 伝持八祖, the “Eight Patriarchs who Transmitted and Maintained (the Teachings)”. See further Snodgrass 1988, I, 117.

the Hiraokano 平岡野 Shrine (Ishikawa Prefecture 石川県).²²⁸ This work is thought to date from the late Kamakura Period.

VI. Representations of Stūpas with Five-fold Spires in the Japanese Art of the Asuka (552–645) and Nara (710–794) Periods

Apart from the Yugitō of the Chūin and the recently built replica in the Yakuōji in Shikoku, there is no other *stūpa* with five *sōrin* in Japan. Representations of square *stūpas* with multiple spires are however found in some sculptures and paintings of the Asuka 飛鳥 and Nara Periods.

A wooden miniature *stūpa* with five *sōrin* is held in the left hand of the statue of Tamonten 多聞天 (Skt. Vaiśravaṇa) in the Golden Hall (金堂 Kondō) of the Hōryūji 法隆寺 in Nara (see fig. 11).²²⁹ Tamonten is one of the Four Heavenly Kings or Shitennō 四天王, the guardians of the four directions and protectors of Buddhism. The statues of the Shitennō preserved in the Hōryūji date back to the seventh century and are the oldest extant statues of these deities in Japan. The *stūpa* is one of Tamonten's symbolic attributes. Statues of Vaiśravaṇa often hold a little *stūpa* with one central spire. The statue of the Hōryūji is the only sculpture with a five-spired *stūpa*. I have not yet come on a representation of this deity holding a similar *stūpa* in Chinese or Korean Buddhist art.²³⁰ This little *stūpa* has a square ground plan and rests on a lotus platform with one layer of petals pointing downwards (*kaeribana*). The lotus supports three square platforms of decreasing size. In the four sides of the *stūpa* body are semicircular arched entrances. The *stūpa* body becomes narrower at the top. The roof is composed of three squares of increasing size and is, as it were, the mirror image of the square platforms below. Five metal spires of the same length are placed above this inverted stepped pyramid. Each spire consists of five parabolic discs, which look like the *fukubachi* at the base of the Japanese *sōrin*. On top of the masts a flame-shaped ornament is mounted. The central one is missing.

A similar square *stūpa* is represented in the half relief on top of the nimbus of the Guze Kannon 救世観音 (seventh century) in the Yumedono 夢殿 (“Hall of Dreams”) of the same Hōryūji (see fig. 12).²³¹ The base of this *stūpa* is a lotus platform supporting two square platforms. The *stūpa* body has straight pillars and rectangular entrances. The roof consists of two squares. In each roof corner there is a protuberance in the shape of a lotus petal. They remind us of the ornaments in the four corners of the roof of the so-called Hōkyōintō 宝篋印塔 type *stūpa* (see below). Here, it is not impossible that they represent the *ukebana* at the base of the

228 For a detailed description, see Takeda 1996. See also Nedachi 1997, 75–76.

229 See Ishida 1969a, plate 326, 199; Amanuma 1934, 192, 196, 225, plate 1; Kobayashi 1985–1986, II, 32, plate 3–4, 33; Sickman and Soper 1956, 231; Soper 1940, 650–651; Fujiwara 1943, 135–136. This sculpture is discussed in detail in Nara Rokudaiji Taikan Kankōkai 1968–1973, II, 74–80.

230 For representations of Vaiśravaṇa in Tun-Huang, see Stein 1921, IV, plates C, XC, XCII; Vandier-Nicolas 1974–1976, II, plates 8, 191, 192. Snellgrove 1987, plate 42. For an example of this deity in Korean art, see Goepfer and Whitfield 1984, 118, plate 119.

231 See Ishida 1969a, plate 327, 199; Amanuma 1934, 196–197, 226, plate 2.

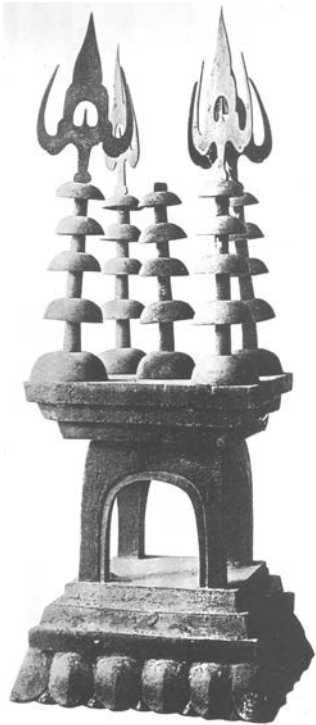


Fig. 11: Wooden miniature *stūpa* with five *sōrin* held by Tamonten, Hōryūji, Nara. 7th century. (after Ishida 1969a, fig. 326)



Fig. 12: Half relief on top of the nimbus of the Guze Kannon, Hōryūji, Nara. 7th century. (after Ishida 1969a, fig. 327)

sōrin.²³² There are only three *sōrin*, but in this perspective representation they can stand for five. The shafts are adorned with lozenge-shaped components. Amanuma Shun'ichi compares them with the beads on an abacus and suggests that the artist shaped them like this for convenience's sake.²³³ The central *sōrin* is larger and contains seven rings instead of five. According to Ishida Mosaku, the nimbus has been made at the same time as the statue.²³⁴ This *stūpa* is practically identical to the open relief in the nimbus of the Shijūhattaibutsu 四十八体仏, a collection of bronze Buddhist statues originally stored in the Tachibanadera 橋寺 in Nara and made at the end of the Asuka period.²³⁵ A similar *stūpa* is also found in a nimbus dated "twenty-sixth day of the third month of Kōin 甲寅 3" and originally stored in the Hōryūji.²³⁶ Kōin 3 is said to correspond with the fifth year of the Hakuchi 白雉 Era (=654) of Emperor Kōtoku 孝徳. Another interesting example is mentioned in Amanuma's study (see fig. 13). It is again a *stūpa* held by Tamonten. This *stūpa* is painted on the Tachibana Fujin Zushi 橋夫人厨子, a miniature shrine of the eighth century containing the bronze Amida Trinity revered by

232 See Fujiwara 1943, 135–136; Mizuno 1959, 571 s.v. Senkōshukutō.

233 Amanuma 1934, 226, fig. 2.

234 Ishida 1969a, 199.

235 See Ishida 1969a, 199–200, plate 328.

236 See Ishida 1969a, 200, plate 329.

Lady Tachibana, mother of Empress Kōmyō 光明 (701–760).²³⁷ In the four corners above the square *stūpa* body there are again ornamental protuberances. There are three *sōrin* on the roof that is drawn disorderly. A new element is the banner fluttering at the top of the central *sōrin*. This shrine is also stored in the Hōryūji.

Ishida sees in the above *stūpas* a primitive Hōkyōintō (原始宝篋印塔 Genshi Hōkyōintō).²³⁸ The term Hōkyōin is derived from the *Hōkyōindaranikyō* 宝篋印陀羅尼經 (T. XIX no. 1022), a text translated by Amoghavajra and often enshrined as a relic inside this type of *stūpa*.²³⁹ This kind of *stūpa* is frequently found in Japan from the mid-Kamakura Period as a small massive stone monument (石塔 *sekūō*, see fig. 14). The plan of this *stūpa* is also square. The square *stūpa* body rests on a stepped platform. A moon-circle is sculptured in each of the four sides of the *stūpa* body. In these circles the syllables of the Four Buddhas of the Vajra Realm (*būm*, *trāh*, *brīh*, *ah*) are frequently carved. The main characteristic is the special protuberance in each corner of the stepped roof. This category of *stūpas* carries one *sōrin* at the centre of the roof. In China, this type of *stūpa* is called A-yü-wang T'a 阿育王塔 ("Stūpa of King Asoka").



Fig. 13: Tamonten (detail) painted on the Tachibana Fujin Zushi, Hōryūji, Nara. 8th century. Drawing by Amanuma Shun'ichi. (after Amanuma 1934, 227, fig. 3)

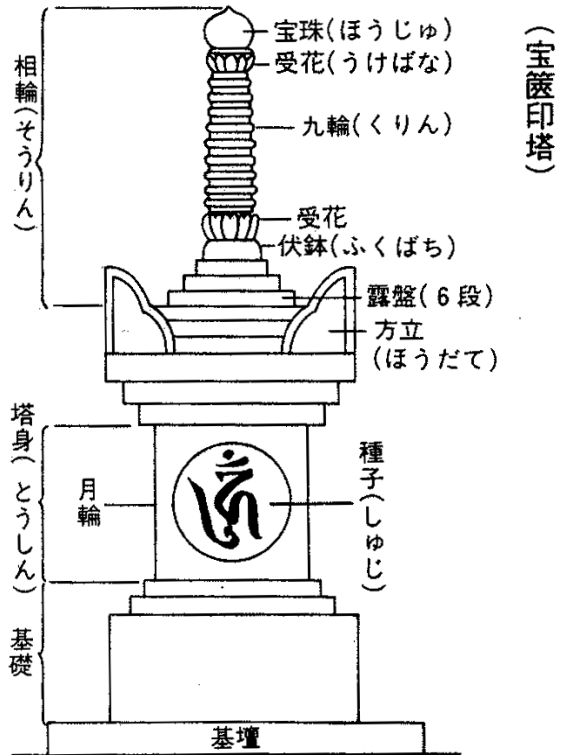


Fig. 14: Features of the *hōkyōintō*. (after Nakano 1983, 157)

237 Amanuma 1934, 197, 227, fig. 3.

238 Ishida 1943, 119; Ishida 1969a, 97.

239 See Ishida 1969a, 97; *MJ*, 624 s.v. Hōkyōintō; Atobe 1970a.

The origin of this type of *stūpa* would go back to Ch'ien Hung-shu 錢弘俶, the Prince of Wu-yüeh 吳越, who made 84,000 miniature bronze *stūpas* in 955, in emulation of the 84,000 *stūpas* ascribed to King Aśoka. A famous example of this *stūpa* is the Aśoka reliquary of the A-yü-wang Ssu 阿育王寺 (“Temple of King Aśoka”) near Ning-po 寧波 in the province of Che-chiang 浙江 (see fig. 15). The Chinese version of the Aśoka *stūpa* is treated in detail by Alexander Soper (1940). He sees in this type of *stūpa* the *harmikā* of the orthodox Indian *stūpa*.²⁴⁰ Concerning the special protuberances, he states that “The corner acroteria have no parallel known to me in Buddhist architectural iconography.”²⁴¹ He further writes that “The acroteria of the reliquary may thus be merely an additional sign of the Hellenization typical of Gāndhāran style.” He also sees an influence of the Parthian fire altar, which has four finials curving outward.²⁴²

There exists also a relief of a three-storied hexagonal *stūpa* with multiple pinnacles on a copper plate preserved in the Hasedera in Nara.²⁴³ This copper work is known as the Senbutsu Tahō Buttō 千仏多宝仏塔 (“Stūpa of the Thousand Buddhas and Prabhūtaratna”) and dates from the 7–8th century (see fig. 16). This is the earliest Japanese representation of the miraculous *stūpa* described in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (*Lotus Sūtra*). This scene of the *Lotus Sūtra* is frequently seen in East Asian art.²⁴⁴ This three-storied construction has several features in common with the *stūpas* described above. A lotus supports the *stūpa*. At the base there is again a three-stepped platform. The three roofs consist of three similar steps arranged in reverse order. The roofs are decorated with curled protuberances. The upper roof carries three *sōrin*. Inside the lower *stūpa* body Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna are seated side by side. Amitābha occupies the second story. The upper spherical body contains a jewel-shaped reliquary. Ishida calls this *stūpa* a primitive three-storied Hōkyōintō.²⁴⁵

No example of a multiple spired *stūpa* dating from the Asuka or Nara Periods exists as an actual building. The extant *stūpas* of these periods are all multi-storied (=three or five) buildings with one *sōrin*, usually with nine rings. The fact that *stūpas* with multiple spires only appear as an attribute or as a decorative pattern in statues and panel paintings might be an indication that this type of *stūpa* was not in the first place meant to be constructed as a concrete structure. Ishida points out the relatively high number of objects decorated with this *stūpa* in the Asuka and Hakuho 白鳳 (645–710) periods.²⁴⁶ He also adds that this motif disappears from the Nara Period onwards. It should also be noted that all the above-mentioned examples are art of exoteric Buddhism, dating prior to the introduction of the *Yūgikyō*, the alleged textual base of the Yūgitō, in Japan by Kūkai in 806. Insofar as we can rely on the Shingon tradition, it was not until the ninth century that a *stūpa* with five *sōrin* and associated to esoteric Buddhism was built in Japan.

240 Soper 1940, 658. For the Chinese Aśoka *stūpa*, see also Boerschmann 1931, 416–420.

241 Soper 1940, 659.

242 Soper 1940, 659–661.

243 See Ishida 1969a, 200, plate 331; Kobayashi 1985–1986, IX, 34, plate 4, 36; Yamamoto 1973, 80–81.

244 See Davidson 1954.

245 Ishida 1969a, 200.

246 Ishida 1969a, 97.



Fig. 15: Asoka reliquary *stūpa*, A-yü-wang Ssu, near Ning-po, province of Che-chiang. (after Glauche 1995, 35, fig. 26)

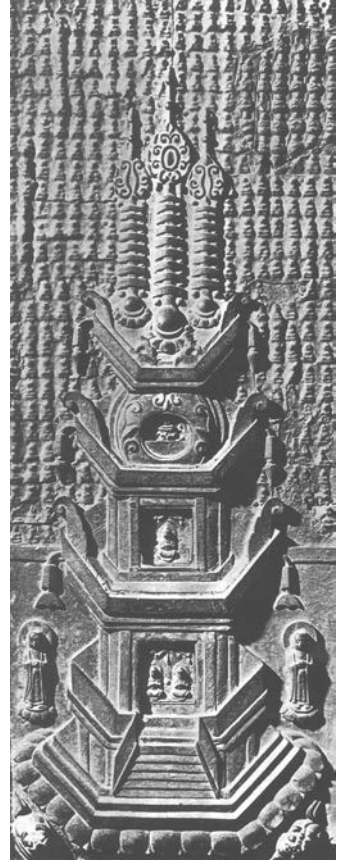


Fig. 16: Senbutsu Tahō Buttō. Relief of a three-storied hexagonal *stūpa* with multiple pinnacles on a copper plate, Hasedera, Nara. 7–8th century. (after Ishida, 1969a, fig. 331)

VII. Yugitō-zu and Kinki Sharitō

The Yugitō has been depicted in Japanese drawings called Yugitō-zu 瑜祇塔図. Yugitō-zu were conferred to the disciple who underwent the secret Yugikanjō (“Yugi Initiation”), described in Chapter XI of the *Yugikyō*. Manabe Shunshō has discussed these drawings in detail in his study on the development of the Yugitō-zu.²⁴⁷ He concludes that no drawing dating back prior to the first half of the thirteenth century has been found.²⁴⁸ A beautiful example has been preserved in the Shōmyōji 称名寺 in Yokohama (see fig. 17).²⁴⁹ This drawing, which is now stored in the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫, represents a five-pronged *hōtō* supported on a lotus on top

²⁴⁷ Manabe 1988.

²⁴⁸ Manabe 1988, 566; Manabe 1984b, 46–47.

²⁴⁹ See Kanagawa-kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko 1991, 115, plate 158; Manabe 1984b, 47; Manabe 1988, 551, fig. 3.

of a huge terraced rock. At both sides of the *stūpa* musical instruments decorated with ribbons are hanging in the air.²⁵⁰ The whole is carried on the back of a turtle floating on waves. The turtle and most of the rock are drawn in a circle that rests on a crescent moon. At both sides of the rock a small radiating circle is drawn. Apart from the *hōtō* with five spires and the musical instruments, this representation is similar to the drawings contained in the *Hi-zōki*. The *sōrin* do not contain any rings but consist of accumulated *ukebana* and jewels. Similar *sōrin* can be seen on the reliquary *stūpa* of the Manzenji (see below).

In his *Yūgikyō hidenshō* 瑜祇秘経伝鈔,²⁵¹ Yūgi 祐直 (1536–1612) refers to a drawing of a *stūpa* which he attributes to Kūkai and which would be based on the oral transmission of Hui-kuo. He gives a short description of a *stūpa* which is practically identical to the above drawing of the Shōmyōji:

Below there is the shape of a half moon (*the wind-circle*).²⁵² Above it there is a round shape filled with waves (*the water-circle*). Above it there is a Golden Turtle (*the metal-wheel*). Above it there is Mt. Sumeru (*divided in four layers*). To the left and the right, halfway the side of the mountain, there is a sun- and a moon-circle. On top of the mountain there is a lotus platform. On this there is the Jewelled Stūpa with Five Peaks and Eight Pillars. The five peaks are all shaped like accumulated jewelled banners 宝幢 (*hōdō*).²⁵³ On the top they all have a jewel. To the left and the right of the Jewelled Stūpa there are nine musical instruments tied to heavenly garments. They are all shaped as if they were flying. In the left corner *Yūgisūtram* is written.²⁵⁴ The drawing of this *stūpa* is the gist of the said scripture, the source of non-duality.

This passage is followed by an interpretation of the different parts of the drawing, I have tabulated these correlations below:

wind-, water- and metal-circle = the Three Mysteries²⁵⁵ of the Garbha (胎三秘密 Tai Sanhimitsu)
 the four layers of Mt. Sumeru = the Four Dharma Bodies²⁵⁶ of the Vajra (金四法身 Kon Shishosshin)
 the sun-circle to the right of the mountain = Vajra, day

250 These instruments resemble the drums, flutes, lutes, etc. in the Court of Space (虚空段 Kokūdan) of the Taima 当麻 *maṇḍala* (Nara National Museum). On this Pure Land *maṇḍala*, see Okazaki 1977, 42–52. See also *BDJ*, IV, 3434 s.v. Taimamandara. Compare also with the instruments mentioned in the following passage from the *Lotus Sūtra* translated from Chinese by L. Hurvitz (1976, 39–40): “Or if they cause others to make music, /Beating drums and blowing horns and conchs, /Or sounding flutes, of many reeds or of only one, and lyres, /mounted on stands or not, / And lutes and cymbals, /Producing many fine sounds like these /And holding them all up as offerings.” For the Chinese text, see T. IX no. 262, 9a 12–14.

251 ZSZ, VII, 149. A commentary on the *Yūgikyō* compiled in 1576 and based on the oral transmission of the monk Keigan* 景嚴 (no data) of the Negoroji 根来寺. On Yūgi's commentary, see *NBTD*, 525 s.v. *Yūgikyō hidenshō*, MD, 2207 s.v. *Yūgikyō hidenshō*; ZSZ, XLII (*Kaidai*), 41–43. [* No entry of Keigan in *MD*. According to ZSZ, XLII, 284, a monk of the province Kai 甲斐, now the prefecture of Yamanashi 山梨, who introduced the Tachikawa-ryū 立川流 at Negoro. His lectures were also attended by Yūgi.]

252 The italicised words in brackets are printed in small characters in the edition of ZSZ.

253 For *bādō*, see Shimizu 1983, 146 s.v. *bādō*, 110–112 s.v. *dō*. A banner surmounted by a jewel (Skt. *cintāmaṇi*). In the *sōrin* of the Yūgito-zu of the Shōmyōji (see fig. 17), a lotus supports each jewel. The upper jewel has a fire-halo. A similar ornament is found on top of the jewelled banner depicted in the *Gobu Shinkan* 五部心観. See Hatta 1981, 25, fig. 50.

254 Yūgi writes *Yūgisūtram* in *siddham* characters. On the use of *siddham* for the title of the *Yūgikyō*, see Vanden Broucke 1994, 209–210.

255 The *triguḥya* (*sanmitsu* 三密): body, voice and mind. See Kiyota 1978, 69–70; Yamasaki 1988, 106–122.

256 The fourfold *dharmakāya* (*shishu bosshin* 四種法身), see Kiyota 1978, 63–64; Hakeda 1972, 83–84.

the moon-circle to the left of the mountain = Garbha, night
 the lotus platform = the Lotus Repository World (華藏世界 *Kezō Sekai*)²⁵⁷
 the five peaks = the Five Knowledges, the Vajra Realm
 the pavilion with eight pillars = the eight petals, the Garbha Realm



Fig. 17: Yugitō-zu, Kanazawa Bunko, Yokohama. Kamakura Period. (after Kanagawa-kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko 1991, 115, fig. 158)



Fig. 18: Yugitō-zu. Drawing on silk. Ryūkōin, Kōyasan. End of the Kamakura Period. Drawing by Amanuma Shun'ichi. (after Amanuma 1934, 228, fig. 4)

Similar Yugitō-zu can also be found in Amanuma's study.²⁵⁸ Among these he describes a wall painting in the Main Hall (本堂 *bondō*) of the Ninnaji 仁和寺 in Kyōto.²⁵⁹ Amanuma does not mention the date. As the main building was rebuilt in 1637, I assume that this wall painting is relatively new.²⁶⁰ Amanuma also describes an unusual drawing on silk stored in the Ryūkōin in which Kūkai is seated in front of a *hōtō* with five *sōrin* (see fig. 18).²⁶¹ This drawing, called Yugi Daishi-zu 瑜祇大師図, would date back to the end of the Kamakura Period.²⁶²

257 The Rengezō Sekai 蓮華藏世界. According to Shingon the Pure land of Vairocana, see *MD*, 2299 s.v. Rengezō Sekai.

258 See Amanuma 1934, 205–206, 229, fig. 5, 230, fig. 6.

259 See Amanuma 1934, 205, 229, fig. 5.

260 See Amanuma 1934, 205. The present author has not yet been able to examine this painting himself.

261 Amanuma 1934, 201–204, 228, fig. 4.

262 See Amanuma 1934, 201.

The Yugitō is also presented in a number of so-called *sharitō* 舍利塔, reliquaries in the form of a *stūpa*. *Sharitō* represented as miniature Yugitō are preserved in the Manzenji 万善寺 (Ōsaka, see fig. 19) and the Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 (Kōyasan, see fig. 20). They are both described in detail by Amanuma.²⁶³ These *sharitō* are however of a recent date. The former dates back from the middle of the Edo Period (1603–1868), the latter was constructed in 1934 on the occasion of the 1100th memorial celebration of Kūkai's passing.²⁶⁴ The miniature Yugitō of the Kongōbuji is stored in the inner shrine of the Kondō 金堂 (“Golden Hall”).²⁶⁵ Three altars (壇 *dan*) are placed in front of the central deity Bhaiṣajyaguru (藥師如来 Yakushi Nyorai) who is installed on a Sumeru altar (須弥壇 *Shumidan*). The central altar is called Funi Chūdan 不二中壇 (“Non-dual Central Altar”), and carries the Yugitō in the middle. To the left (= west) and the right (= east) are two smaller altars, representing the Kōngōkai-dan 金剛界壇 (“Vajra Realm Altar”) and Taizōkai-dan 胎藏界壇 (“Womb Store Realm Altar”). These altars have one miniature *gorintō* 五輪塔 in the centre.



Fig. 19: Miniature Yugitō, Manzenji, Ōsaka. Middle of the Edo Period. (after Amanuma 1934, 233, fig. 9)

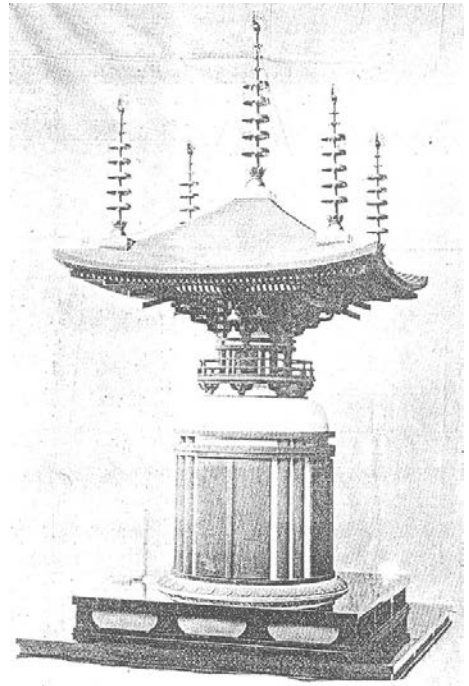


Fig. 20: Miniature Yugitō, Kongōbuji, Kōyasan. 1934. (after Amanuma 1934, 239, fig. 16)

Our *stūpa* is also associated with a special type of *sharitō* called Kinki Sharitō 金龜舍利塔 “Golden Turtle Reliquary Stūpa”.²⁶⁶ These are gilt bronze *sharitō* in the shape of a *hōtō* carried

263 Amanuma 1934, 210–211, 219–220, 233, fig. 9, 239–240, fig. 16–18. In the *sharitō* of the Manzenji four *tokko*, single-pronged *vajras*, are erected on the lotus platform.

264 See Amanuma 1934, 211, 219.

265 For a detailed description of this shrine, see Okazaki 1982, 446–448. See also Yamamoto 1973, 91.

266 On this type of *sharitō*, see Morita 1962; Ishida 1969a, 92; Okazaki 1982, 30–32.

by a turtle. The Kinki Sharitō have only one *sōrin* on top of the *stūpa* roof. Only four such miniature *stūpas* are extant today.²⁶⁷ They are stored in the Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 (dated 1338, Nara, see fig. 21),²⁶⁸ the Tōdaiji 東大寺 (dated 1411, Nara),²⁶⁹ the Ryūkōin (dated 1460)²⁷⁰ and the Hasedera (near Nara, dated 1842).²⁷¹ According to Manabe, the name Yugitō is engraved in the belly of the turtle of the reliquary *stūpa* of the Hasedera.²⁷² The turtle carrying a *hōtō* is said to be based on the passage with the Golden Turtle symbolising the construction of the world in Jichiu's *Yugisutram hiketsu*.²⁷³ The idea of a turtle representing the world is of course not exclusively Japanese but is adopted from the Hindu and Buddhist mythology.²⁷⁴ The animal is also said to be based on the legend of the miraculous turtle which appeared in the sea to recover precious relics sunk into the sea when the monk Ganjin 鑑真 (688–763) was shipwrecked while crossing from China to Japan.²⁷⁵ According to Ishida, there may also be a relation with the turtle-shaped supports of stone monuments in China and Korea.²⁷⁶ He also adds that this creature may be inspired by the turtle to be visualised in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.²⁷⁷

According to Ishida, the only Kinki Hōtō constructed in stone is the *hōtō* of the Hōkakuji 鳳閣寺 in Kurotakimura 黒龍村 (Nara Prefecture, see fig. 22).²⁷⁸ This stone *stūpa* dated 1369 is 2,7 meters high and represents a circular *hōtō* with one *sōrin* of nine rings resting on a square lotus platform. A square stone in which the head and the forelegs of a turtle are sculptured supports the structure. Amanuma describes this *stūpa* in detail. He writes that although there is only one *sōrin*, it is possible that this *stūpa* was built with the intention of representing the Yugitō with its five *sōrin*.²⁷⁹ This would be, in other words, an abstraction of our *stūpa*. As a matter of fact, it seems technically impossible to construct a similar miniature *stūpa* in stone with five pinnacles. On the other hand, I have not yet found an explanation why the Kinki Sharitō is always topped with only one *sōrin*.²⁸⁰ Here it must be technically possible to fix five *sōrin* on the roof of these bronze miniature *stūpas*.

267 See Okazaki 1982, 30.

268 Discussed in detail in Morita 1962. See also Ishida 1969a, 190 no. 249; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, 66 no. 127; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 313–314; Okazaki 1982, 30–32.

269 See Ishida 1969a, 190 no. 250; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, 66 no. 128; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 314–315; Okazaki 1982, 32.

270 See Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, 66 no. 129; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 315; Okazaki 1982, 32.

271 See Ishida 1969a, 190 no. 251; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975, 66 no. 130; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 315.

272 Manabe 1988, 554–555. See also Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 288.

273 See Manabe 1988, 555.

274 See Kirfel 1920, 6; Kottkamp 1992, 294, note 2, 299, note 1.

275 See Okazaki 1982, 30–32; Manabe 1988, 555; Morita 1962, 20–21; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 288.

276 Ishida 1969a, 92. On the identification of the cosmos with a turtle in Han times, see Allan 1991, 104–107. See also Paludan (1991, 50): “The tortoise base was a Han innovation; the earliest known example is on the Fan Min tomb (A.D. 205) in Sichuan, but there are records of such bases from the preceding century.”

277 Ishida 1969a, 92. See also Okazaki 1982, 30, note 21; Morita 1962, 46–47; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983, 288.

278 Ishida 1969a, 92, 190 no. 252.

279 Amanuma 1934, 212–215, 234, fig. 10, 235, figs. 11–12.

280 Amanuma's study (1934, 232) contains an interesting drawing of a *stūpa* mounted on a turtle. On the roof there is only one *sōrin*, but near the corners of the roof a small *tokko* 独結 is drawn. Each *tokko* is connected to the *sōrin* with a dashed line. The illustration is a copy of a drawing which was stored in the Department of Archi-



Fig. 21: Kinki Sharitō, Tōshōdaiji, Nara. Dated 1338. (after Morita 1962, fig. 30).

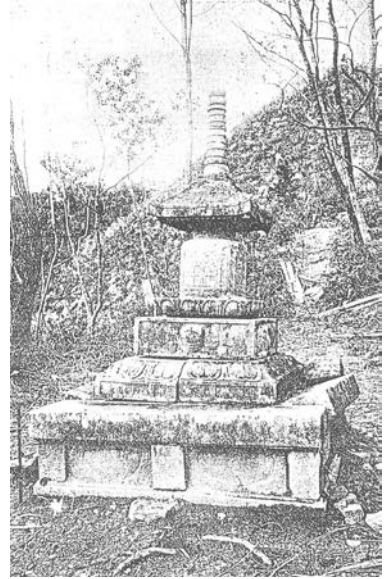


Fig. 22: Kinki Hōtō. Hōkakuji, Kurotakimura, Nara Prefecture. (after Amanuma 1934, 234, fig. 10)

VIII. Stūpas with Multiple Spires in China and India

It is unclear in which degree the *stūpas* represented in the art of the Asuka and Nara Periods served as a model for the Yugitō. Amanuma Shun'ichi and Fujiwara Giichi point out the resemblance of the Yugitō to these *stūpas*,²⁸¹ but the possibility cannot be excluded that our *stūpa* is the result of Shingon speculation and that it was created in Japan apart from any prototype. If so, the Yugitō would be exclusively Japanese and its resemblance with the pre-Heian multi-spired *stūpas* would be coincidence. The Yugitō may also have been transmitted orally to, for example, Kūkai in China as a *stūpa* to be constructed mentally.

In any event, the *stūpas* with multiple spires represented in the Asuka and Nara Periods deserve our attention. There can be no doubt that these *stūpas* followed some continental model.²⁸² As a matter of fact, these periods were characterised by a thorough borrowing from every field of Chinese culture.

As far as I can ascertain, no example of a *stūpa* with five *sōrin*-like masts has been found in China or Korea. However, there exist many sculptural representations of multi-spired *stūpas* in the early Buddhist cave temples of China. The caves of Yün-kang 雲岡 (Shan-hsi 山西) contain a great quantity of reliefs from around 500 AD of multi-storied (=3, 5, 7) *stūpas* with tiled

ecture in the Faculty of Technology of the Imperial Tokyo University (東京帝国工学部建築学教室 Tokyo Teikoku Kōgakubu Kenchikugaku Kyōshitsu). This drawing is reminiscent of the drawing in the *Yugikyō hiketsu* of Jichiu. Unfortunately, we do not have any information on the origin of this drawing.

281 Amanuma 1934, 192; Fujiwara 1943, 143.

282 See Soper 1940, 650.

roofs. These *stūpas* often carry three *sōrin* on the upper roof (see fig. 23).²⁸³ In the actual monument there were probably five. These tower-*stūpas* are depicted with niches in each floor. Each niche contains one or two seated figures. These illustrations are very similar to the Senbutsu Tahō Buttō mentioned above. These cave reliefs occasionally contain single-storied *stūpas* that resemble the *stūpas* depicted in Japan in the Asuka and Nara Periods. A well preserved example is found in the eastern wall, niche 5b, of the Yün-kang Cave XI, dated 495 (see fig. 24)²⁸⁴. In the lower part a niche with a seated Buddha is flanked on each side by a small single-storied *stūpa*. The five-stepped base of the *stūpa* resembles the Shumiza 須弥座, a platform in the shape of Mt. Sumeru. The *stūpa* body contains a niche with an arched frame and houses two figures seated side by side. The roof supports a dome. From the roof rise flower-shaped ornaments that envelop the base of the dome. The top of the dome carries three spires with seven rings. At the base of the *sōrin*, we see ornaments similar to the ornamental protuberances of the *stūpas* depicted in the Asuka and Nara Periods.

A little *stūpa*, practically similar to the miniature *stūpa* held in the left hand of the statue of Tamonten in the Hōryūji, appears frequently as a subsidiary element at the top of Buddhist steles and bronzes of the period of the division between North and South in China, especially the Northern Ch'i (北齊 550–577) and Northern Wei Dynasties (北魏 386–535) (see fig. 25).²⁸⁵ Small *stūpas* frequently appear in the early Chinese Buddhist art as a reference to the miraculous Prabhūtaratnastūpa which appears in the *Lotus Sūtra*.²⁸⁶ As a matter of fact, some of the miniature *stūpas* with multiple masts of the Northern Ch'i and Wei contain two tiny figures, probably Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna.²⁸⁷

Ishida mentions in passing that the miniature *stūpa* with the five *sōrin* held by Tamonten may be related to the Chinese Wu-t'a Pao-t'an 五塔宝壇 (“The Jewelled Platform with Five Stūpas”).²⁸⁸ It is not clear to which Chinese monument he exactly refers. Perhaps constructions like the Chin-kang Pao-tso T'a 金剛宝座塔 (“Adamantine Jewelled Seat Stūpa”), also called the Wu-t'a Ssu 五塔寺 (“Five Stūpa Temple”), of the Ming 明 Dynasty (1368–1644) near Pei-ching may be meant here (see fig. 26).²⁸⁹ In this monument five tower-like *stūpas* are arranged on a high platform. This building is an imitation of the famous Indian *stūpa*-tower of Bodhgayā (see below). Similar lamaist structures have been built during the Ch'ing 清 Dynasty in Pei-ching and Inner Mongolia.²⁹⁰

283 Nagahiro 1976, 121, plate 48, 293, plate 211, 299, plate 216, 304, plate 222; Mizuno and Nagahiro 1951–1956, VIII, plate 8; Dallapiccola 1980, plate II/4, II/10, XIX/3.

284 See Mizuno and Nagahiro 1951–1956, VIII, plate 9; Dallapiccola 1980, plate II/5.

285 See for example Siren 1925–1926, I, plate 156, II, plate 245; Matsubara 1966, 45, plate 44, 134, plate 115A, 283, plate 249; Eskenazi 1993, plate 44; Munsterberg 1967, plate 116; Davidson 1954, plate 20; Hsia and Chuang 1996, 65, plate 14.

286 See Davidson 1954, 59. Davidson (1954, 28) also mentions that: “The numerous representations of Sakyamuni and Prabhutaratna at Yün Kang and Tun Huang demonstrate the importance that the *Saddharma Pundarika Sūtra* had achieved in the Buddhist art of China by the year 500.” He also observes that: “Sculptures presenting the *Lotus* became more and more rare during the latter part of the sixth century.” (Davidson 1954, 60). See also Soper 1959, 181. The apparition of the Jewelled Stūpa is described in Chapter Eleven of the *Lotus Sūtra*, for an English translation, see Hurvitz 1976, 183–194.

287 See for example Eskenazi 1993, plate 44; Hsia and Chuang 1996, 65, plate 14; Siren 1925–1926, I, plate 156.

288 Ishida 1969a, 199 no. 326.

289 Described in detail in Swart and Till, 1985. See also Luo Zhewen 1994, 264–265; Kottkamp 1992, 443; Snodgrass [1985]1991, 128, fig. 70.

290 See Luo Zhewen 1994, 264–279; Kottkamp 1992, 443; Ishida 1969a, 14–15.



Fig. 23: Multi-storied *stūpa* in relief, Yün-kang, Cave VI. Late 5th century. (after Dallapiccola 1980, fig. XIX/3)



Fig. 24: Single-storied *stūpa* in relief, Yün-kang, Cave XI. Dated 495. (after Dallapiccola 1980, fig. II/5)

Lothar Ledderose compares the *stūpa* of Tamonten with the arrangement of five units found in the religious buildings of pre-Buddhist China.²⁹¹ These religious constructions of the Han 漢 Dynasty, called Ming T'ang 明堂 (“Radiant Hall”), are supposed to consist of a square central building surrounded by four lesser similar buildings in the four corners.²⁹² These quintuple arrangements, which are only known from reconstructions and ceramic models, appear to have a cosmological significance. Ledderose sees in the miniature *stūpa* of Tamonten a comparable arrangement. He says that, “This is basically the same cosmological diagram that was so widely used in the Han Dynasty.”²⁹³

Amanuma sees in the Yugitō a simplification of the five-spired *stūpa*.²⁹⁴ He takes the view that the prototype of the Yugitō is to be found in India. He mentions that examples of *stūpas* with five towers (one big tower in the centre and four lesser in the four corners) are found in India, Burma, Thailand, Japan and China. He only provides one example of such a *stūpa* in India: the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodhgayā (fig. 27). Apart from this observation, he does not refer to the *stūpas* with multiple spires represented in the sculptures of the Yün-kang caves or in the early Chinese Buddhist bronzes.²⁹⁵

291 Ledderose 1980, 240–241.

292 See Dallapiccola 1980, plates XVIII/7–8.

293 Ledderose 1980, 240–241.

294 Amanuma 1934, 192–193, 224. Surprisingly, Amanuma does not refer to the representations of the five-pronged *stūpas* found in China.

295 Also Hashimoto (1935, 116–117) points out that Amanuma does not give any examples of Chinese *stūpas*.



Fig. 25: Stele with two standing *bodhisattvas*. Excavated at the Hsiu-te Ssu site, Ch'ü-yang-hsien, Hopei Province. Dated 562. (after Akiyama and Matsubara [1969]1972, fig. 193)



Fig. 27: Mahābodhi Temple. Bodhgaya. (after Glauche 1995, 25, fig. 15)



Fig. 26: Wu-t'a Ssu. Near Pei-ching. Ming Dynasty. (after Liao and Wang 1993, 113)

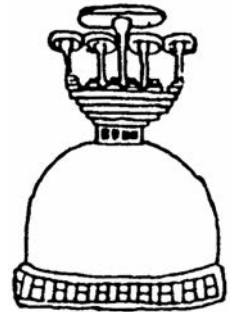


Fig. 28: Early Indian *stūpa* with five masts. Relief in the pillar of the south gate of *stūpa* n°1 of Sāñci. First century BC/AD. (after Kottkamp 1992, 618, fig. 58)

Concerning the five *śorin* of the Yugitō Alexander Soper writes that, “the five-fold spires seem clearly Indian in source. Perhaps they echoed the memory of the great prototype at

Bodhgayā, like the five-fold Chinese *stūpas* on high terraces at Pi-yün-ssü and Wu-t'a-ssü.²⁹⁶ Soper's opinion is quoted in Ledderose's study on the Chinese prototypes of the East Asian *stūpa*. Ledderose adds that Soper's claim "should be reconsidered in the light of Han dynasty evidence."²⁹⁷ The evidence in question is the five-fold religious construction mentioned above. It is of course impossible to determine whether the five-fold *stūpa* is a direct continuation of these Chinese structures or a survival of Indian quintuple monuments. Anyway, similar constructions in India deserve our special attention, all the more since structures with five peaks or five chambers are described in certain Chinese versions of the *Tattvasamgraha*, which originated in India.

An interesting representation of an early Indian *stūpa* with five masts is depicted on a relief in the pillar of the south gate of *stūpa* n° 1 of Sāñcī (first century BC/AD, see fig. 28).²⁹⁸ The predominant element of this *stūpa* is the hemispherical *stūpa* body (Skt. *aṇḍā*). At the summit of this dome stands a *harmikā* ("pavilion") composed of an inverted five-stepped pyramid mounted on a balustrade. The upper slab of this pyramid is decorated with small upward-pointing triangles.²⁹⁹ From this construction rises one central spire which carries a parasol (*chattra*). Four similar but smaller spires are depicted around this central one. They seem to be lined up but are probably supposed to be arranged in the four directions.³⁰⁰ In spite of the differences, this *stūpa* has important features in common with the structures depicted in the Asuka and Nara Periods and with the Yugitō. The typical Indian *aṇḍā* is still preserved in the hemi-spherical top of the *stūpa* body of the Yugitō.³⁰¹ The *harmikā* may be reflected in the short cylinder surrounded by a balustrade in our *stūpa*. The overhanging roof of the Yugitō and the wood-work which supports it are alien to the Indian *stūpa*. These elements are taken from the Chinese architectural tradition. There might still be a relation with the *harmikā*. As a matter of fact, Dietrich Seckel does not exclude that the East Asian "square canopy-like roof" is "possibly inspired by the shape of a *harmikā* with protruding layers . . ." ³⁰² The inverted pyramid is still clearly present in the *stūpas* represented in the Asuka and Nara Periods. Even their triangular protuberances are comparable to the ornaments depicted in this Indian relief. Of special interest are the five *chattra* masts.

It has already been stated that Amanuma sees in the Yugitō a simplification of a group of five *stūpas*. He compares the Yugitō with the famous Indian *stūpa* tower of Bodhgayā. The present *stūpa* of Bodhgayā is a reconstruction of the nineteenth century.³⁰³ This huge multi-storied pyramidal tower is built out of brick and is 54 meters high. Four similar miniature towers (eight meters high) flank the base of the central tower and are erected in the four corners. On the flat top of the main tower stands a central miniature tower. Of special interest are the four smaller towers at each of the four corners of the roof. A similar

296 Soper 1942, 196.

297 Ledderose 1980, 244, note 19.

298 See Kottkamp 1992, 618, fig. 58; Bénisti 1960, plate VI A.

299 They remind us of the ornaments in the four corners of the Hōkyōintō. See above, note 232. See also Snodgrass [1985] 1991, 238–239.

300 See Kottkamp 1992, 103–104, note 3; Bénisti 1960, 61.

301 On the survival of the structural elements of Indian origin in the East Asian *stūpas*, see Seckel 1980.

302 Seckel 1980, 253.

303 See Snodgrass [1985] 1991, 224, fig. 146a; Seckel 1980, 252; Dallapiccola 1980, plate XIX/1.

structure with five miniature towers on the roof is depicted on the terracotta plaque of Kumrahar, also called the Bodhgayā plaque, which probably dates from the fifth or sixth century AD.³⁰⁴ Snodgrass sees in this fivefold pattern an expression of a *maṇḍala* pattern.³⁰⁵ He also refers to *stūpas* with similar towers in Burma (the Mingalazedistūpa in Pagan) and lamaist *stūpas* in China. Five tower-shaped *stūpa* groups are also found in Central Asia, for example in Yar and Kocho near Turfan.³⁰⁶

IX. Conclusion

The Shingon tradition regards the Yūgitō as a *stūpa* erected by Shinzen according to plans drawn or transmitted by Kūkai, his master. The commentarial tradition of Shingon explains the Yūgitō as a symbolisation of the essence of the *Yūgikyō*. According to the Shingon school, the two realms are combined in this text. It is however questionable whether this interpretation of the text was already current in the time of Kūkai. He repeatedly quotes the text in his religious writings but there is not one passage in which he interprets the *Yūgikyō* as a scripture that combines the teachings of the *Vairocanaḥbisambodhi* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.³⁰⁷ Besides, Kūkai clearly assigns the *Yūgikyō* to the *Tattvasaṃgraha* tradition and even quotes the *Yūgikyō* to explain the title of the *Kongōchōisainyoraiishinjitsuśōdajijōgenshōdaikyōōkyō* 金剛頂一切如來真實撰大乘現証大教王經 (T. XVIII no. 865), one of the three Chinese versions of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, in Japan better known by its abbreviated title *Kongōchōkyō*.³⁰⁸ His writings neither contain any reference to the Yūgitō or to any *stūpa* with five *sōrin*. Ihara claims that the *Yūgikyō* was regarded as a text containing the essence of the non-duality of the two sections after Kūkai.³⁰⁹ If this were true, the association of the Yūgitō with the *Yūgikyō* would also date after Kūkai. Consequently, the traditional interpretation of the Daitō, the main *stūpa* of Kōyasan that was also built under Kūkai's will and which is also thought to represent the essence of the *Yūgikyō*, should also be put in doubt. As a matter of fact, Shimomatsu has demonstrated that the original arrangement of the deities inside the Daitō was not syncretic in nature.³¹⁰

The *Yūgikyō* does not contain a description of a *stūpa* similar to the Yūgitō. On the other hand, we have seen that the *Ryakushutsunenjukyō*, a text that pertains to the *Tattvasaṃgraha* lineage, contains a detailed description of an edifice with five peaks and eight pillars to be constructed mentally. It may be premature to draw the conclusion that the *Ryakushutsunen-*

304 See Seckel 1980, 252; Snodgrass [1985]1991, 224, fig. 146b; Inui 1993, 184, 185, plate 16; Kottkamp 1992, 199, note 4.

305 Snodgrass [1985]1991, 126–129.

306 See Franz 1980, 41–42. Of these five-*stūpa* groups, Franz says: “They certainly embody a *maṇḍala*-like symbolism”. See also Snellgrove 1987, 344–345, plate 48a–b.

307 The texts in which Kūkai refers to the *Yūgikyō* are listed in Ihara 1984a, 416; Vanden Broucke 1994, 208; Katō 1983, 121, note 2.

308 Ihara 1984a, 416; Matsunaga 1985, 1–2; Vanden Broucke 1994, 208–209.

309 This problem is treated in Ihara 1984a. In his study, Ihara indicates that this idea is found in the transmission of Jōhen* (1165–1223). Ihara quotes from Raiyu's (1226–1304) *Yūgikyō shūkashō*** which contains a passage based on the oral transmission of Jōhen. This passage is also quoted above, V. See Ihara 1984a, 412, 419, note 15; Ihara 1984b, 233–235. [* See above, note 174. ** See above, note 173.]

310 Shimomatsu 1991. See also above, IV.

jukyō was the textual source for the design of a Japanese *stūpa* with five *sōrin* and eight inner pillars, but it is most likely that this scripture or other texts of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* lineage were at least an important source of inspiration whether or not in the days of Kūkai.

Comparing the consulted commentaries it is also doubtful whether the Yugitō carried five *sōrin* right from the beginning. It is also difficult to decide in which degree the design of the Yugitō has been influenced by the *stūpas* with multiple *sōrin* represented in early Chinese Buddhist art. It should also be borne in mind that these Chinese examples and also the *stūpas* with multiple spires represented in the Japanese Asuka and Nara Periods are examples of exoteric Buddhist art. In my opinion we can consider the problem of the origin of the Yugitō in the following ways:

1. The concept of the Yugitō was transmitted to Kūkai in China, by for example Hui-kuo who inherited it from his master Amoghavajra.
2. The Yugitō is a creation of Kūkai.
3. Or, the Yugitō is a result of Shingon speculation posterior to Kūkai.

There is no definite proof to confirm the first and second opinion. The third possibility does not fit with the traditional Shingon view, but is not less worth consideration. The origin of the symbolic interpretation of the Yugitō and of the title of the *Yugikyō* will no doubt become clear if we know more on the history of the central Shingon idea of *ryōbu funi*. But even for this important Shingon premise there is no consensus on the origin. Up to now the following theories have been offered:

1. Indian origin. Yoritomi Motohiro sees elements of mixture of the two basic *maṇḍalas* (the *Taizōmandara* and the *Kongōkaimandara*) in the Buddhist statues examined in the province of Orissa in eastern India.³¹¹
2. Other scholars hold the view that the tendency to unify the *Kongōchōkyō* and the *Dainichikyō* can be traced back to Hui-kuo (and Amoghavajra).³¹²
3. Other specialists are inclined to attribute this central Shingon idea to Kūkai.³¹³
4. Some scholars attribute it to Kakuban 覚鑿 (1095–1143), the founder of the Shingi 新義 branch of Shingon.³¹⁴

Whatever the origin of the *ryōbu funi* concept, there grew up a tendency to unite the two opposite philosophical notions of Shingon Buddhism from the latter half of the Heian Period. The idea of the indivisibility of the *Taizō* and *Kongōkai* was even combined with Taoist *yin-yang* beliefs in the Tachikawa school (立川流 *Tachikawa-ryū*).³¹⁵ This school correlated the *Taizō* and *Kongōkai* with the female and male principles and claimed that sexual union was a means to attain Buddhahood. According to tradition this Tachikawa school was

311 Yoritomi 1992.

312 For example Matsunaga 1969, 146; Matsunaga 1993, 33–34; Katsumata 1981. See also Ihara 1984a, 409–410. As for Amoghavajra, Hui-kuo's master, Matsunaga (1969, 147, 153, note 9) writes that Amoghavajra himself clearly states that he considers the *Kongōchōkyō* as the subject of his esotericism.

313 Horiuchi 1974, 98, 105. See also Matsunaga 1969, 147.

314 For example Miyasaka 1989, Miyasaka 1991, 45.

315 On the Tachikawa school, see Goepfer 1993, 102–114; Vanden Broucke 1992; Mizuhara [1923]1968; Fujimaki 1999; Manabe 1999.

a heterodox branch of Shingon Buddhism founded by the priest Ninkan 仁寛, who died in 1114. The *Yugikyō* was considered as one of the five basic texts of this school.³¹⁶

The teachings of the two *maṇḍalas* were also incorporated in the so-called Ryōbu Shintō 両部神道. The Inner Shrine (Naikū 内宮) of Ise 伊勢 was interpreted as the Taizō; the Outer Shrine (Gekū 外宮) was identified with the Kongōkai.³¹⁷

We have seen that the title of the *Yugikyō* has been interpreted in male and female categories. A similar idea is present in a rather far-fetched explanation of the title of the *Ise Monogatari* 伊勢物語 found in the *Ise monogatari zuinō* 伊勢物語髓腦. According to this old study of the *Ise monogatari*, the word *Ise* is a contraction of *imose* 妹背, meaning “lovers”, “wife and husband”.³¹⁸

Among the commentaries quoted in this survey, the oldest one that interprets the Yūgitō along the lines of the notion of non-duality is the *Yūgisūtram hiketsu* of the twelfth century priest Jichiu. It is difficult to decide when the theory of correlating the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas of the Yūgitō with the idea of *ryōbu funi* appeared for the first time. In his interesting article on the Daitō, Shimomatsu has brought forward the suggestion that the identification of the Five Buddhas of the Daitō with the notion of *ryōbu funi* came into being until the beginning of the thirteenth century at the latest. Manabe concludes in his survey of the Yūgitō-zu that these drawings originated in the first half of the same century. We have also seen that a pavilion with five peaks and eight pillars which expresses the idea of *ryōbu funi* occurs in the *Usuzōshi*, written early in the thirteenth century by Seigen. We do not know exactly when the idea of the *Yūgikyō* as a text containing the essence of the non-duality of the two sections appeared. Ihara has indicated this tendency in the transmission of Jōhen, a disciple of Jichiu, who lived in the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century.

We probably have to regard the Yūgitō and its symbolism as a result of Japanese Shingon speculation taking place from the late Heian onwards.

316 For the canonical scriptures of the Tachikawa school, see Vanden Broucke 1992, 41, note 15; *MD*, 1558 s.v. Tachikawa-ryū.

317 See *MJ*, 713–714 s.v. Ryōbu Shintō.

318 See Vos 1957, I, 69, 102. The *Ise Monogatari Zuinō* is of an uncertain date. Vos (op.cit. 68) also mentions a theory that says that the characters 伊勢 would have the Japanese reading *otoko-onna*, “men and women”. This theory is found in the *Shōmonshō* 肖聞抄, a study of the *Ise Monogatari* written by the poet Botanka Shōkaku 牡丹花 肖柏 (1443–1527). See also McCullough 1968, 62: “1. Theories ascribing a special meaning to the word. One of these suggest that *i* stands for ‘female’ and *se* for ‘male’, in which case the title would mean ‘Tales of Women and Men’, . . .”

Appendix. Short Survey of Modern Secondary Materials on the Yūgitō (in Japanese and in chronological order) (full references will be found in the List of Consulted Works)

Amanuma, Shun'ichi, 1934. This article deals mainly with the external architectural aspects of the Yūgitō. Amanuma's study contains detailed descriptions and numerous illustrations of Yūgitō-zu, (Kinkū)Sharitō and of multi-spired *stūpa* patterns in the art of the Asuka Period. He gives an account of the rebuilding of the Yūgitō and emphasises the resemblance of the Yūgitō with the *stūpas* represented in the art of the Asuka Period. He believes that the Yūgitō has its origins in the five-towered Indian *stūpa* (e.g. the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodhgayā).

Hashimoto, Gyōin, 1935. Hashimoto stresses the secret character of the Yūgitō and the lack of research materials for this *stūpa*. He mentions Amanuma's article. Hashimoto considers the *stūpa* more from the doctrinal point of view. Unlike Amanuma, he is reluctant to see the prototype of the Yūgitō in the *stūpas* with five pinnacles or *sōrin* represented in the art of the Asuka Period. He is also doubtful of the Indian origin of the Yūgitō. He gives information on the transmission of esoteric Buddhism in China and deals also with the *Yūgikyō*. He draws our attention to the problems concerning the transmission and the translator of this scripture. In a final section, he refers to Yūkai's *Yūgikyō shūkoshō* and deals with the symbolic meaning of the title of the *Yūgikyō*.

Mashiba, Hiromune, 1969. In this short study, the Yūgitō is explained as a symbol for the "non-duality of the two sections." There is also basic information on the Yūgikanjō.

Ihara, Shōren, 1984b. Ihara gives a résumé of the *Yūgikyō*. He draws our attention to the fact that no *stūpa* with five *sōrin* and eight pillars is explained in this scripture. He informs us that the idea of the Gobu Hatchū is present in Jōhen's interpretation of the title of the *Yūgikyō*. He also quotes from Jichūn's *Yūgisūtram hiketsu*. He emphasises that in this commentary the roof of the Yūgitō carries four single-pronged *vajras* and one central *sōrin* with five rings.

Matsunaga, Yūkei, 1985. This is an introduction to the *Yūgikyō* published in 1985 as an explanatory volume accompanying a reproduction of a fifteenth century manuscript of this scripture. Matsunaga gives a summary of the twelve chapters of the *Yūgikyō* and basic information regarding the title, translator, etc. This is the only source in which I have found a description of the interior of the present Yūgitō. Matsunaga draws our attention to the pavilion with five peaks and eight *vajra*-pillars explained in the *Ryakusbutsumenjukyō*.

Manabe, Shunshō, 1988. A comprehensive study on the transmission of the Yūgitō-zu, visionary drawings of the Yūgitō.

Useful information is also contained in the following Japanese Buddhist lexica and encyclopedia: *BDJ*, V, 4925 s.v. Yūgitō; *MJ*, 690 s.v. Yūgitō; *MD*, 690 s.v. Yūgitō.

A short description of the Yūgitō can be found in: Amanuma, Shun'ichi, 1927; Ishida, Mosaku, 1969a, 92, 190; Ishida Mosaku, 1969b, 40–41; Mae Hisao, 1979, 130–131; Heibonsha Chihō Shiryō Sentā (ed.) 1983, 87; *Kōyasan Jihō*, n° 2416, 1985, 1, 3.

The only English source which devotes a short paragraph on the Yūgitō is Soper, Alexander, 1942, 196.

Abbreviations (full references will be found in the List of Consulted Works)

BD	Nakamura, Hajime. <i>Bukkyōgo daijiten</i> .
BDJ	Mochizuki, Shinkō. <i>Bukkyō daijiten</i> .
BDJT	Oda, Tokunō. <i>Bukkyō daijiten</i> .
BKDJ	Ono, Genmyō. <i>Bussbo kaisetsu daijiten</i> .
BWD	Ogihara, Unrai. <i>Bon-wa daijiten</i> .
DBZ	<i>Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho</i> .
DJBT	Inagaki, Hisao. <i>A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms</i> .
DKKJ	Katsuzaki, Hirohiko et al., eds. <i>Daijō kyōten kaisetsu jiten</i> .
IBJ	Nakamura, Hajime. <i>Iwanami bukkyō jiten</i> .
KDCZ	Katsumata, Shunkyō, ed. <i>Kōbō Daishi chosaku zensho</i> .
KDJ	Kobayashi, Yukio et al., eds. <i>Kokuhō daijiten</i> .
KDKZ	Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū Henshū Inkaï, ed. <i>Kōbō Daishi Kūkai zenshū</i> .
KDZ	<i>Kōbō Daishi zenshū</i> .
KS	<i>Kokusbo sōmokuuroku</i> .
KSD	Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Inkaï, ed. <i>Kokushi daijiten</i> .
KSHS	Kaici. <i>Kōya shunjū hennen shūroku</i> .
KZF	Niida Kōko. <i>Kū zoku fudoki</i> .
MD	Mikkyō Jiten Hensankai, ed. <i>Mikkyō daijiten</i> .
MJ	Sawa, Ryūken et al., eds. <i>Mikkyō jiten</i> .
NBTD	Kanaoka, Shūyū et al., eds. <i>Nihon bukkyō tenseki daijiten</i> .
ND	Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, ed. <i>Nihon daijōkyō</i> .
NKBT	<i>Nihon koten bungaku taikai</i> .
SED	Monier-Williams, Sir Monier. <i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> .
SN	Moriyama, Shōshin. <i>Shingon-shū nenpyō</i> .
SZ	Zoku Shingon-shū Zensho Kankōkai, ed. <i>Shingon-shū zensho</i> .
T.	Takakusu, Junjirō et al., eds. <i>Taishō shinshū daijōkyō</i> .
T. Zuzō	Takakusu, Junjirō et al., eds. <i>Taishō shinshū daijōkyō zuzō-bu</i> .
YHD	Yūgi. <i>Yūgiyō hidenshō</i> .
YHK	Shōshin. <i>Yūgi hyōketsu</i> .
YKK	Dōhan. <i>Yūgisūtram kaketsu</i> .
YKSK	Raiyu. <i>Yūgiyō shūshō</i> .
YM	Taien. <i>Yasan meireishū</i> .
ZGS	Hanawa, Hokinoichi. <i>Zoku gūnsō ruijū</i> .
ZSN	Yamaguchi Kōei. <i>Zoku Shingon-shū nenpyō</i> .
ZSZ	Zoku Shingon-shū Zensho Kankōkai, ed. <i>Zoku Shingon-shū zensho</i> .

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LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. 1 Yugitō, Kōyasan. (after Ishida 1969a, fig. 248)
- Fig. 2 Yugitō, Kōyasan. (photo by the author)
- Fig. 3 Map of the central monastic complex of Kōyasan. (after Gankōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Kōkōgaku Kenkyūshitsu 1982, 102)
- Fig. 4 Reconstruction of the Yugitō by Amanuma Shun'ichi. (after Amanuma 1934, 236, fig. 13)
- Fig. 5 Idem. (after Amanuma 1934, 237, fig. 14)
- Fig. 6 External features of the *hōō*. (after Nakano 1983, 192)
- Fig. 7 Drawing of the Yugitō in the *Yugisutraṃ hiketsu* of Jichiun (1105–1160). (after SZ, V, 13).
- Fig. 8 *Gegoko-in* (“Outer Five-pronged Seal”). (after MD, Appendix, 43, fig. 67)
- Fig. 9 Visualization of the place of practice (*Dōjōkan*) according to the *Hizōki*. (after T. Zuzō, I, fig. 1)
- Fig. 10 Idem. (after T. Zuzō, I, fig. 2)
- Fig. 11 Wooden miniature *stūpa* with five *sōrin* held by Tamonten, Hōryūji, Nara. 7th century. (after Ishida 1969a, fig. 326)
- Fig. 12 Half relief on top of the nimbus of the Guze Kannon, Hōryūji, Nara. 7th century. (after Ishida 1969a, fig. 327)
- Fig. 13 Tamonten (detail) painted on the Tachibana Fujin Zushi, Hōryūji, Nara. 8th century. Drawing by Amanuma Shun'ichi. (after Amanuma 1934, 227, fig. 3)
- Fig. 14 Features of the *hōkyōintō*. (after Nakano 1983, 157)
- Fig. 15 Aśoka reliquary *stūpa*, A-yü-wang Ssu, near Ning-po, province of Che-chiang. (after Glauche 1995, 35, fig. 26)
- Fig. 16 Senbutsu Tāhō Buttō. Relief of a three-storied hexagonal *stūpa* with multiple pinnacles on a copper plate, Hasedera, Nara. 7–8th century. (after Ishida, 1969a, fig. 331)
- Fig. 17 Yugitō-zu, Kanazawa Bunko, Yokohama. Kamakura Period. (after Kanagawa-kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko 1991, 115, fig. 158)
- Fig. 18 Yugitō-zu. Drawing on silk. Ryūkōin, Kōyasan. End of the Kamakura Period. Drawing by Amanuma Shun'ichi. (after Amanuma 1934, 228, fig. 4)
- Fig. 19 Miniature Yugitō, Manzenji, Ōsaka. Middle of the Edo Period. (after Amanuma 1934, 233, fig. 9)
- Fig. 20 Miniature Yugitō, Kongōbujī, Kōyasan. 1934. (after Amanuma 1934, 239, fig. 16)
- Fig. 21 Kinki Sharitō, Tōshōdaiji, Nara. Dated 1338. (after Morita 1962, fig. 30).
- Fig. 22 Kinki Hōtō. Hōkakuji, Kurotakimura, Nara Prefecture. (after Amanuma 1934, 234, fig. 10)
- Fig. 23 Multi-storied *stūpa* in relief, Yün-kang, Cave VI. Late 5th century. (after Dallapiccola 1980, fig. XIX/3)
- Fig. 24 Single-storied *stūpa* in relief, Yün-kang, Cave XI. Dated 495. (after Dallapiccola 1980, fig. II/5)
- Fig. 25 Stele with two standing *bodhisattvas*. Excavated at the Hsiu-te Ssu site, Ch'ü-yang-hsien, Hopei Province. Dated 562. (after Akiyama and Matsubara [1969]1972, fig. 193)
- Fig. 26 Wu-t'ā Ssu. Near Pei-ching. Ming Dynasty. (after Liao and Wang 1993, 113)
- Fig. 27 Mahābodhi Temple. Bodhgaya. (after Glauche 1995, 25, fig. 15)
- Fig. 28 Early Indian *stūpa* with five masts. Relief in the pillar of the south gate of *stūpa* n° 1 of Sāñcī. First century BC/AD. (after Kottkamp 1992, 618, fig. 58)